A Defence of the Antiquity OF The Royal-Line OF SCOTLAND:

With a true account when the *Scots* were Govern'd by Kings in the Isle of *Britain*,

In Answer to the Bishop of St. *Asaph*.

By Sir *George Mackenzie* of *Rosehaugh*,
His *Majesty's* Advocate.

KING *CHARLES* I Speech to the *Scotish* Parliament at *Edinburgh*, 19. *August*, 1641.

I cannot doubt of such real Testimonies of your Affections for the maintenance of that Royal Power, which I enjoy after 108 *Descents, and which You profess to maintain, and to which your National Oath doth oblige you*, &c.

LONDON,

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TO THE KING.

SIR,

THE Divine Providence, having ſuffered theſe Kingdoms to deſtroy one another for many Ages, in divided Monarchies, reſerv'd their happy Union for the mercifull Royal Stem, of which Your Majeſty *is now the* Head: *and mingl'd lawfully in their Veins, all thoſe many, and different Blouds-Royal, which pretended to any Sovereignty in theſe Your Dominions: deſigning thereby at once to reward the Vertue of*

Your Majeſt'ys *Predeceſſours, and to endear that Union to us, in preventing future Debates. In* King James *Your Royal Grand-Father, thoſe Nations got a Monarch, who was acknowledg'd to be the* Solomon *of His Age: who excell'd all His Contemporary Princes in* * *King-Craft; all his Miniſters in Prudence; and all His Doctours in Learning. None of His Subjects underſtood the Law better, or obſerv'd it more: and who knew as well, all that was done at Counſel-Tables abroad; as they who ſate at them. To Him ſucceeded* Your Majeſty's Royal Father, *whoſe life was the beſt Law a King could make: who knew no uſe of Power, ſave to do good by it: who was leſs carefull of His own Bloud, than of that of His Subjects: and I may juſtly ſay, that Heaven onely was govern'd by*

* His own word.

by a better King. After we had ſhown our ſelves unworthy of ſuch Monarchs, the Divine Goodneſs, to try us once more, gave us Your Gracious Brother, *whoſe Clemency (after ſo many and ſo great injuries) was as great a Miracle as His Reſtoration: who knew every thing ſave to be ſevere: and could bear every thing, ſave to ſee His people in trouble: who, after the abuſe of His Goodneſs, had made His Enemies ſo inſolent, that His Servants concluded all was loſt, did by His extraordinary parts, with a gentle eaſineſs, peculiar to Himſelf, diſſipate thoſe execrable Combinations, to our great ſatisfaction, and amazement: But,* Sir, *the Conſcience of His Enemies, will far exceed, in His praiſes, the Eloquence of His Servants; and ſo my trembling hand leaves this Melancholy Subject.*

His Throne is now fill'd with Your Sacred Majeſty, *whoſe Abilities Your Royal Brother eſteem'd ſo much, that He ſhar'd with you the exerciſe of the Government before His Death, gave you the Poſſeſſion of the Crown. In You,* Sir, *Your People have a* General *to their* Armies, *an* Admiral *to their* Fleet, *a* Theſaurer *to their* Money: *whoſe Courage can lead them as far as theirs can follow; and raiſe the glory of theſe Kingdoms as high as they can wiſh: So that if they be not happy, they will have this addition to their misfortunes, that the World will ſee, that they themſelves are onely to be blam'd for it.*

Our Countrey, Sir, *cannot boaſt of a rich Soyl, or a warm Sun: but it may, that it has given theſe happy Iſlands, thoſe Gracious, and Glo-*

rious

rious Kings. In return whereof, we might have expected kinder Rewards, than that any of their Natives ſhould debate its Antiquity, and the Veracity of thoſe Hiſtories wherein the great Actions of Your Royal Predeceſſours were recorded. And ſince the Honour of the Ancient and Royal Race of our Sovereigns is the chief thing, wherein we glory; it is hard to deny us a favour, ſo juſt on our part, and ſo eaſie on theirs. However, Sir, *ſince I preſume, that thoſe of Your other Subjects, who controvert this, do ſo, rather from want of Information, than from unkindneſs: I, who am reſolv'd to make the defence of Your meaneſt Priviledges my greateſt Honour; have thought it incumbent to me, as* Your Advocate, *to undertake the defence of that Antiquity, which makes* Your Majeſty, *the*

most Ancient Monarch upon Earth: Which Argument, I hope, I have manag'd with that Candour, which becomes an honest Man, and that Zeal, which is the duty of,

SIR,

Your MAJESTIES

most Dutifull, Loyal, and

Obedient Subject and

Servant,

GEO. MACKENZIE.

A LETTER TO THE EARL of *PERTH*, Lord High Chancellour OF Scotland,

Upon his having ſent to the Authour the Biſhop *of St.* Aſaph's *Book: with ſome Reflexions upon the Deſign of that Book.*

My Lord,

I Have read the *Book* you ſent me with that delight, I did of old a *Play*; which one may think it reſembles

ſembles more, than our *Hiſtories* do a *Romance*: For what is truly related, is ſo diſguiſed and tranſpoſed, as may beſt ſuit with the *Authour's* Deſign, and with a *Rhetorick* ſo *Polite* and *Comical*, that if the *reaſons* do not convince, yet the *humour* and *ſtyle* may charm, and pleaſe even ſome of thoſe againſt whom it is deſign'd. This made me unwilling at firſt, to undertake to anſwer a *Book*, which I ſuppoſe might have more *Admirers*, than *Proſelytes*; But finding, upon a ſecond peruſal, that the *Authour* had not fully examined the grounds upon which our Hiſtorians proceeded, or had ſuffered himſelf to be byaſs'd by Zeal for his Order or Partiality to his Countrey. And that this whole *Kingdom* take it as an injury done, not onely to the *Antiquity* of the *Royal Family*, but to this *our Nation* in general; I was at laſt prevailed with to enter the Liſts, with a kind deſign, by a ſober and candid Information, rather to convince and ſatisfie the *Authour*, and thoſe he may have miſled, than to acquire the

the vain glory of ſuch a Victory, eſpecially over one, who bears the Character of a *Biſhop*, for which I have ſo great a Veneration: Although, for the reaſons following I cannot but diſlike his unneceſſary undertaking, and partial management of a National Debate, which * we are diſcharged to enter upon, under pain of Sedition.

* 12. 6. par. 20. c. 9.

1. I am ſorry: that while theſe *Kingdoms* are unhappily divided, not in *Nations*, but *Opinions*; the old Animoſities amongſt *Scots*, *Engliſh*, and *Iriſh* being forgot and buried, and the modern differences between the *Epiſcopal* and *Fanatick*, *Cavalier* and *Republican*, or as ſome term it, *Whig* and *Tory* are ſo violent and turbulent; the Authour ſhould have diverted our juſt and dutifull Zeal, by imploying it in defence of an important Right of *State*, unkindly, as well as unneceſſarily invaded: ſo as the other, of near concern to the *Church*, may in ſome meaſure come to be neglected.

2. The pretext for writing this *Book*, wherein the Antiquity of our

Kings

Kings and *Nation* is ſo much diſpa-rag'd, being that the *Presbyterians*, and particularly *Blondel* urg'd from our *Hiſtorians*, that we had a *Church* for ſome years without *Biſhops*: it ſeem'd neither juſt nor fit, that any *Epiſcopal Authour* ſhould have magnify'd ſo highly the meaneſt Argument, that ever was us'd by a *Presbyterian*; as for it, to cut off 44 *Kings* (all preceding *Coranus*, who began his Reign *anno* 501) and to expoſe on a *Pillory* as *Forgers*, our many and grave *Hiſtorians*. And that it is a weak argument, appears from this, that I have met with very few *Laicks* in all our Countrey, who had heard of it; nor with one, even of theſe few, who had valu'd it: and ſo this *Authour* may be ſaid, rather to have ſuggeſted a new argument, than to have anſwered an old one: For they urge now nothing to us, ſave places of *Scripture*; reſolving to have their *Presbytery*, *Juris Divini*: knowing that nothing leſs can ſecure them, in oppoſing the *Laws* of the *Kingdom*. And what can the *Presbyterians* think of their o-

ther

ther arguments, which they value much? Since this, which they valu'd ſo little, is thought of ſuch force by a learned *Biſhop*, as to deſerve a whole Book, the cutting off of 44 *Kings*, and the offending a *Nation of Friends*. It is alſo very remarkable, that the learned *Doctor Hammond*, a great *Champion* of *Epiſcopacy*, owns the *Antiquity* of our *Nation*; and anſwers fully that argument, without overturning the truth of our *Hiſtory*, or wronging the *Antiquity* of *our Royal-line*: whereas *Baxter* the *Presbyterian* urges this citation, and yet agrees with this *Authour* in oppoſing the *Antiquity* of our *Hiſtory*; approving what is ſaid by *Cambden* and *Uſher*; and in a Letter to the Duke of *Lauderdale* aſſerting the lateneſs of our ſettlement here. Which ſhews, that there is no neceſſity lying upon ſuch as own *Epiſcopacy*, to wrong the Antiquity of our *Kings*, and *Nation*. But how the neceſſity of a private Corner of a remote Countrey in *Eccleſiâ conſtituendâ*, could wrong the general practice of the *Church*; is

as

as little to be underſtood, as it is undenyable, that many *thouſands* in *Japan*, and *China* were converted by *Presbyters*, before *Biſhops* were ſent there. And ſince it cannot be deny'd, but that theſe who ordain'd our *Presbyters* were *Biſhops*; it neceſſarily follows, that *Epiſcopacy* was ſettl'd in the *Chriſtian Church* before we had *Presbyters* or *Culdees*: or elſe if theſe who ordain'd our *Presbyters* were not *Biſhops*; the practice of that *Church*, whereby our *Presbyters* were ordain'd, ſhould have been impugn'd, and not the *Authority* of our *Hiſtories*, and the *Antiquity* of *our Royal-Line* overturn'd. And though this *Authour* could prove, that we were not ſetled here, before the year 503, yet that could not anſwer the argument: for the *Culdees* might have been ſetled before that time in this Countrey, where we now live, though amongſt the *Picts*, for it cannot be deny'd, but the *Picts* were ſetled in this Countrey, before that time. And when our Hiſtorians ſay that the *Abbats* of *Icolm-kill* had Juriſdiction over all

all the *Biſhops* of the *Province*, that is to be underſtood, as *Beda* obſerves, *more inuſitato*; and St. *Aſaph* himſelf well remarks theſe words, and gives a full and clear vindication of the paſſages of *Beda* in the 173, and following *Pages*; and might have reſted therein, and needeed not to have been driven to ſeek a new anſwer in overturning the Antiquity of our Nation. Many examples can be given of Juriſdiction of *Preſbyters*, and even of *Deacons* over Biſhops in the *Canon Law* and *Hiſtory*. So that this inſtance from our Hiſtorians makes nothing againſt *Epiſcopacy*. And later *Hiſtorians* meeting with theſe ambiguous words in our *Annals*, *deſignatus*, *electus*, *ordinatus*, were by a miſtake induc'd to appropriate theſe words, to the formal Ceremony of *Ordination and Impoſition of Hands*. And I find by the Biſhop's Conceſſion, * that the *Abbeſs Hilda* did elect and ſend forth ſuch of her *Monks*, as ſhe thought fit to be *ordain'd*: which is all that our *Culdees*, and ancient *Monks* did.

* Pag. 169, 170, & 171.

Thus

Thus a King may be ſaid to make one a Biſhop, or a Mother to have made one of her Sons a Church-man; which anſwer, the Learned *Nicol*, a zealous friend to *Epiſcopacy*, thought ſufficient to elide *Blondel's* arguments from our Hiſtorians, without denying the Antiquity of our Nation, or troubling himſelf with our * *Culdees*. And if *Beda* had heard that the *Presbyters* did ordain Biſhops, he had remark'd it as a moſt unuſual thing, having marked that the *Abbats* had juriſdiction over Biſhops, they being but *Presbyters*; ſuch an Ordination being much more extraordiary, than ſuch a Juriſdicton. And might not St. *Aſaph* as well have inveigh'd againſt *Gildas* and the *Britiſh Hiſtorians*, becauſe he ſays † that Church-men were ordain'd by the conſent of the Biſhops and the reſt of the *Presbyters* from which *Presbyterians*, and particularly the ſame *Blondel* * infers a parity betwixt Biſhops and *Presbyters*. And from which it appears, that dangerous conſequences ſhould not be drawn from the dubious, and heedleſs

[6] See his late Book, entituled *Les pretendus reformees convenious du Schiſm.* p. 547, 548, 549, 550.

† Pag. 89.

* Pag. 72, & 73.

heedleſs expreſſions of old Authours living in rude Times and Places, and from all which we might have been ſecure, that St. *Aſaph* would have concur'd with the wiſe anſwer, which *Spotſwood* Arch Biſhop of St. *Andrews* (with whom the learn'd *Hammond* agrees) gave to that ſilly argument, without affronting him as a betrayer of the *Epiſcopal* Cauſe; and careſſing our *Fanaticks* by that unwarrantable and dangerous aſſertion; *that in conſequence thereof they might reaſonably conclude, that when they covenanted againſt* Epiſcopacy, *they had onely us'd their own right; and thrown out that, which was a confeſs'd innovation; in order to the reſtoring of that which was their primitive Government.* For it does not follow, that becauſe our *Church* in its infancy and neceſſity was without Biſhops for ſome years; that therefore it was reaſonable for Subjects, to enter in a *Solemn League* and *Covenant*, without, and againſt the conſent of their *Monarch*; and to extirpate *Epiſcopacy* ſettled

then by *Law*, and by an old preſcription of 1200 years at leaſt.

3. Precedency being one of the Jewels of the Crown, and one of the chief Glories of Princes; and all who treat that Subject confeſſing, that the King of *Great-Britain* as King of *Scotland*, is the moſt ancient Monarch in *Europe*, the Line of other Kingdoms having been often interrupted: whereas ours never was. It ſeems a great injury to our Kings, to have their Line ſhortned, ſo as thereby to poſtpone them, to many others; and if this Authour's arguments prove any thing, they muſt prove that our Kings cannot inſtruct their Antiquity, till *Malcolm* the 3*ds* time: and ſo our Kings will be almoſt the laſt of all *Crown'd-Heads*. Nor is it one of the leaſt arguments, which prevail with us, to hazard all for our *Royal-Line*, that we have been ſo long Subjects to it, and happy under it: and therefore whoever ſhortens it, leſſens (though without deſign) the influence of our Kings,

and

and endangers the Succeſſion. And ſince * *Luddus* owns, that he durſt not deny the *Britiſh Deſcent* from *Brutus*, leſt he might thereby wrong the *Majeſty* of the *Engliſh* Nation; I admire, that any of the Subjects of *Great-Britain* did not think it a degree of *Leſe-Majeſty* to injure and ſhorten the *Royal-Line* of their Kings. * Pag. 8.

4. If this injury had been done to Kings, or to a Nation, when they were Enemies to *Epiſcopacy*, as the obligation was, ſo the fault had been leſs. But to inveigh againſt our *Royal-Line*, after *King James* had made the ſettlement of *Epiſcopacy* his buſineſs; King *Charles* had died for it; and our late Sovereign of Glorious Memory, had been more diſquieted by the Schiſmatical oppoſition made to it, than by all his other concerns, ſeems very unkind. And though this *Authour*, upon deſign to make us ſit down quietly under theſe Injuries, ſeems to gratifie us, by the Complement, " that we, ſince the Writing of our " Hiſtories, needed not ſuch helps,

" as old and fabulous Romances:
" telling us, that we have excell'd
" moſt other Nations, in Arts, and
" Arms; and eſpecially in the Purity
" of Religion, abating onely the ble-
" miſh, which we have contracted
" by too eaſie a belief of theſe Ficti-
" ons, which he deſigns to Refute.
Yet, ſince no Peer in *England*, though a Subject, would have allow'd this Authour to tell him, that albeit, he be now a brave and generous perſon; his Predeceſſours were lately pilfering barbarous Robbers and Vagabonds, and the Hiſtory of his Family a fabulous Romance. How ſhould he have imagin'd, that our Kings and Nation (how gentle ſoever) would have thought, that the Juſtice done them in this age (and for which we thank the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*) ſhould have compens'd the Injuries done to their Predeceſſours?

But it is probable, that St. *Aſaph* has not, on the one hand, known the Grounds, which we here urge for our antiquity, and

that

that our nice Jealouſie for our Honour, on the other hand, magnifies too much to us ſuch injuries, of which we are naturally very ſenſible: and therefore, I hope by his Lordſhips aquieſcence, the reſult of the Debate will be, that he will ſee, that our *Royal-Line* and *Nation* are more ancient, than he imagined them to have been: and that we will remain Convinc'd, that his Book was not Dictated by malice, and National Humour.

My Deſign is not to convince my Readers, that I am Learn'd, but that my Cauſe is juſt: and therefore I uſe no more Citations, even from the Books I know, than may prove or illuſtrate my Poſitions. And, not being the firſt aggreſſor, I expect the favour, which is due to Self-defence: For of all things, I hate unneceſſary Debates; and I admire St. *Paul* for ſaying, * *And they neither found me in the Temple diſputing with any man.* Debates generally ſtarve Charity, feed Self-love, and incline even very good

* Acts chap. 24. verſe. 12.

good men to more partiality, than, I hope, can be charg'd in this Debate, upon

Your Lordſhips moſt
faithfull and humble
Servant,
Geo. Mackenzie.

Adver-

ADVERTISEMENT.

SInce the Writing of theſe Sheets, I have ſeen a very old Manuſcript brought from Icolm-kill, *written by* Carbre Lifachair, *who liv'd ſix Generations before St.* Patrick, *and ſo about our* Saviour's *time; wherein is given a full account of* the Iriſh Kings: *By which I conclude, that ſince the* Iriſh *had* Manuſcripts *then, certainly we muſt all be allowed to have had them, having greater occaſion of* Learning Sciences, *and* Writing Hiſtories; *becauſe of our Commerce with the* Romans *and polite* Britons. *In this* Book *alſo there are many Additions by the* Druids *of theſe times: from which I likewiſe may confirm, that the* Prieſts *in our old* Monaſteries *learn'd our Ancient* Hiſtory *from the* Druids *who preceded them.*

I have ſeen alſo an old Genealogy *of he* Kings *of the* Albanian Scots, *agreeing with that mention'd in our Hi-*ſtory *at the Coronation of* King Alexander

lexander 2, *and which has ſtill been preſerv'd as Sacred there.*

I have ſeen alſo another old Manuſcript, *wherein the* Dalreudini Albanach *are conſider'd as ſettled here ſix Generations before* Eirc, *whom* Uſher *calls the* Father of our *Kings. I find alſo in it, that* Angus Tuirteampher *Reign'd in* Ireland *five Generations before our* Fergus I. *and that in his time, the* Iriſh *and* Albanians *divided and ſeparated from one another, which agrees with our Hiſtories, which ſay, that the* Scots *were in this Countrey long before* King Fergus *and his Race ſettled here. And theſe our* Iriſh *Manuſcripts agree in every thing with the above cited Hiſtory of* Corbre, *and are in effect Additions to his Book by our old* Sanachies.

A DEFENCE Of the ANTIQUITY OF The Royal-Line OF *SCOTLAND*,

With a true Account, when the *Scots* were Govern'd by *Kings* in the Iſle of *Britain*.

In Anſwer to the Biſhop of St. Aſaph.

ALL the Hiſtorians of *Scotland* unanimouſly agreeing, that the Royal-line of the *Kings* of *Scotland* did begin in *King*

Fergus the First: and that the *Scots* now Inhabiting it, were ſettled here, under one *Sovereign*, about 330 years before *Chriſt*: And their Hiſtories being receiv'd with great applauſe for many hundreds of years, by all *Hiſtorians*, *Antiquaries* and *Critiques* of other Nations, who had any occaſion to take notice of our affairs. *Luddus* affecting ſingularity, did, in *Anno* 1572, controvert both theſe points: for which, he having been Refuted with juſt ſeverity by *Buchanan*; The *Biſhop* of *St. Aſaph*, upon pretext of anſwering a very ſilly and inconſequential Argument againſt *Epiſcopacy*, has undertaken the Defence of *Luddus* his Kinſman, contending, that the *Scots* did not ſettle in *Britain*, till the year of our *Lord* 503; and that they had no *King*, who Govern'd in this Iſland, till that time.

Albeit there be other unwarrantable aſſertions and poſitions in that Book, yet being unwilling to enter upon any Argument, which may, by the remoteſt Conſequence, be urg'd againſt that *Epiſcopacy*, which I ſo much

much Reverence, I, as His *Majeſty's Advocate*, deſign onely to prove, that in both theſe Points. the *Biſhop* has (though I hope without deſign) injur'd our *Kings* and *Nation*. For proving whereof,

The firſt thing, I ſhall clear, ſhall be, that Hiſtory requires, nor admits, no Mathematical, nor Legal Proof, but is ſatisfi'd with ſuch Moral certainty, as is infer'd from probable Tradition, old Manuſcripts, credible Hiſtorians, the Teſtimony of foreign Authours, and probable Reaſons.

2 That our Hiſtories being already acquieſced in, and received by the generality of Mankind, and eſpecially by *Critiques*, *Antiquaries* and *Hiſtorians*, the beſt Judges in ſuch caſes, need no Confirmation, nor farther Proof.

3 That albeit we are not obliged to Prove, or Confirm our Hiſtory, yet we are able to doe it by all the former Grounds, which is all that can be done for the credit of any Hiſtory.

4 I ſhall anſwer the Arguments

brought by the *Biſhop* againſt our Hiſtories. And I muſt intreat my Readers to lay all theſe together, and not to judge by parcels, which is not to be done, eſpecially in caſes of this nature.

SECT. 1. What proofs are neceſſary in Hiſtory.

For clearing the firſt of theſe Points, it is fit to conſider that right Reaſon requires onely in all caſes, ſuch Proofs, as the Nature of the Subject can allow: and therefore, though *Mathematicians* reſt onely upon infallible Demonſtrations; and the *Law* requires ſtrict and ſolemn Proofs; Yet the *Law* it ſelf remits its ordinary Exactneſs, to comply with the neceſſity of Humane Affairs, allowing domeſtick Witneſſes, where others cannot be had, and ſtrong preſumptive Grounds as equal to Witneſſes, where the Subject Matter can admit no other Proofs: *Morality* convinces by probable Reaſons, and *Hiſtory* allows Moral certainty for a ſufficient Probation in matters of Fact, becauſe the matters Treated of, in it, can generally admit no exacter Proofs: Which Propoſition, as to Hiſtory, will very eaſily appear, if we conſider, that even

even the Hiſtorians of this preſent age, cannot themſelves ſee every thing they relate; nor can all be prov'd by the Teſtimony of Witneſſes. Reaſon likewiſe has oblig'd men to preſume, that a Nation ought as much to be believ'd in theſe Caſes, as two Witneſſes are in any ſingle one; for even in the caſe of Witneſſes, our belief is founded upon the preſumption, that they will not lie, and damn themſelves; and that both the one, and the other, do at laſt reſolve in preſumptive and probable Grounds: So that men ſatisfie themſelves in moſt things, with the general belief, and Tradition of thoſe among whom they live, founded upon probable Reaſons. Manuſcripts alſo written by others, infer no Mathematical, nor legal certainty: For the Authour of the Manuſcript might have been miſtaken, or byaſs'd; and at beſt, one Witneſs proves not: Nor are Strangers oblig'd to believe the exacteſt *Hiſtory* of thoſe who write in favour of the Antiquity of their own Nation, upon any other account,

than becauſe *Hiſtory* is ſatisfi'd with probable Grounds. Domeſtick Teſtimonies inter onely a probable belief; and though an Oath were interpos'd, that could create no more than a moral certainty.

As the former propoſition is founded upon juſt Reaſon, ſo all *Hiſtorians* have been believ'd, and the *Hiſtories* of all Nations have been receiv'd upon probable Grounds and Warrands, though they were not written by thoſe who ſaw and heard what they wrote. Amongſt many Inſtances of which, I ſhall onely name that of the *Romans*, written by * *Livius*; In which Commonwealth, he tells us that *the uſe of Letters was not then ordinary*, and that *the beſt Records were the faithfull Remembrance of things paſt*; *and if ſome few Memorials were left by the Prieſts in ſucceeding Ages, they periſht at the burning of the Town.* And no *Hiſtory* was Collected till the year 485, after the building of *Rome*, *Fabius Pictor*, their firſt *Hiſtorian*, writing in that year, as † *Voſſius* informs us. The *Jewiſh Hiſtory* alſo had no Hiſtorical warrand for the firſt

* Raræ per eadem tempora literæ fuere, una cuſtodia fidelis memoriæ rerum geſtarum: & quod etiamſi quæ in commentariis pontificum, aliiſque publicis privatiſque erant monumentis, incenſa urbe pleræq; periere. Liv. Init. lib. 6.

† Voſſius *de hiſt. Lat. lib.* 1. *cap.* 44. & *lib.* 2.

firſt 2000 years, but Tradition, and after that time, their Tranſactions were mention'd in very few foreign *Hiſtories*: And the Annals of their own *Prieſts* were thought good Hiſtorical Foundations; in the opinion of * *Joſephus* even for the Sacred Hiſtory. I need not mention the Hiſtories of the *Greeks*, who could have no Records for many hundreds of years before they wrote; and much leſs thoſe of the *French*, and *Spaniards*, whoſe Hiſtories might much more juſtly be queſtioned upon the Grounds that ours are.

* *Lib.* 1. againſt *Apion.*

The ſureſt Foundation then of all Hiſtories, is the common belief and conſent of the Natives: For Strangers cannot know but from them, and this conſent and belief may be founded upon credible Tradition, Manuſcripts, Domeſtick Witneſſes, but eſpecially when theſe are fortifi'd by the concurring Teſtimonies of foreign Authours, probable Reaſons, and the acquieſcence of Mankind. And though leſs is accepted for fortifying an ancient, than a Modern Hiſtory, and that even a part of theſe would be ſufficient to confirm a Mo-

dern one: Yet I hope to make them all concur for ſupporting ours, though very ancient.

It would appear then by this, that as the *Biſhop* of *St. Aſaph* has undertaken to defame our Hiſtory without any neceſſity, ſo he does it without any ſhadow of Reaſon: and we will at leaſt have the ſatisfaction, to ſee our Hiſtories ſubſiſt as long as any Hiſtories can do.

I conceive alſo, that in Reaſon, Hiſtorians already receiv'd in the World with applauſe, need not ſhew their Warrands, whereupon they proceed; No more, than a man that is in poſſeſſion needs prove or confirm his Right, except the ſame be prov'd to be falſe, or a clearer, or ſtronger Right be produced by him, who challenges the former: Nor are men curious to preſerve old Manuſcripts and Records, after they have form'd their Hiſtories by them: for elſe no Hiſtorian could ever be ſecure, if the not being able to ſhew their Warrands after many ages, might diſcredit their Hiſtory. And I deſire to know, where are

thoſe

thoſe few Hiſtorians, whom *Herodotus*, *Livius*, and others do cite in their Hiſtories? Or thoſe whom *Joſephus* did cite to confirm that of the Jews, when it was challeng'd by *Apion* the *Grammarian*, upon the ſame Grounds that ours is now quarrel'd by the *Biſhop* of *St. Aſaph*: And albeit the Authority of a ſingle Hiſtorian, might be jealous'd after his Hiſtory is written, and that then his warrands might be call'd for; eſpecially if other Manuſcripts could be found, written in the time controverted, by which that Hiſtory might be contradicted: Or if the Hiſtory controverted did Narrat things, inconſiſtent with the whole Tract of other Hiſtorians, or the Principles of common Senſe and Reaſon, as *Jeffrey* of *Monmouth*, and ſome *Britiſh* Hiſtorians do, in the opinion of the *Biſhop* of *St. Aſaph*, and their own beſt *Critiques*. Yet, this cannot at all be extended to our caſe, who have very many Hiſtories written by men of great Reputation, all agreeing very well with one another, and Relating things probable in themſelves, and very agreeable

agreeable to foreign Hiſtories, and which they declare, they did draw from Warrands cited by them, and which have, for many years, been read with great pleaſure, and cited with great honour by *Critiques*, *Antiquaries* and *Hiſtorians*, and contradicted by the authority of no poſitive Hiſtory or Manuſcript, written by any in the ages controverted, aſſerting, that the *Scotiſh* Nation now inhabiting this Iſle, did firſt plant themſelves here, about ſuch a year of God, under ſuch a King, or adducing ſome ſuch ſolid Ground againſt us; all that is objected againſt our poſitive and applauded Hiſtories, being the vain and ſilly ſcruples of an obſcure Authour *Luddus*, who being confuted by *Buchanan*, made no more noiſe in the World, till * *Cambden* rais'd ſome Conjectures, with ſubmiſſion to us,

* *Britann. cap. Scoti paſſim*, but eſpecially Page 242. Theſe are the points, I ſay, which I would wiſh the *Scotiſh-men* diligently to think upon, but let them remember, that in the mean time, I have affirm'd nothing, but onely given an inkling of certain things, which may ſeem in ſome ſort material, whence if the original of the *Scots* have received no Light, let them ſeek it elſewhere, and I have in vain ſearched, but with that circumſpect care, that I hope I have not given the leaſt offence to any whatſoever.

after

after which † B. *Vsher* picqu'd by *Dempſter*'s ſeverity, to his Uncle *Stanihurſt*, gathered together, an undigeſted, and formleſs lump of all writers, good and bad, from which, he ſays, that diſcretion being us'd, a Hiſtory might be form'd. And from theſe the *Biſhop* of St. *Aſaph*, impatient of *Buchanan*'s ſeverity to *Luddus*, under the pretext of reſpect to *Epiſcopacy*, has drawn a new Model, without bringing new materials, and has Tranſlated even the fabulous Non-ſenſe of theſe ignorant Authours, into polite *Engliſh*, putting that confus'd Rabble in Rank and File, with ſome pleaſant Reflexions.

I might then forbear to trouble my ſelf any farther, than in anſwering theſe few, and ill founded Objections, muſter'd up by the Biſhop againſt us, which being remov'd, leave our Hiſtory in its former luſtre, and ſplendour. But for ſerving my King and Countrey, and ſatisfying my Reader more entirely, I am reſolv'd to clear, that our Hiſtorians have proceeded upon ſufficient Warrands, according to the former uncontrovertible Propoſitions, which I at

† Præfat. de primord. Eccl. Brit. *In noſtra autem ex omni ſcriptorum genere promiſcuè congeſta farragine, ſiquis obſcuriorum Authorum citata mirabitur teſtimonia; Cogitare illum velim, aliud eſſe Hiſtoriam ſcribere, aliud materiam hinc inde convehere, unde delectus adhibito, &c.*

SECT. 2. What proofs we can adduce for our Hiſtory, and firſt of our Tradition.

at firſt laid down, in Relation to Hiſtory in general. And this I will endeavour to doe, 1. By ſhewing that our Tradition is very well founded. 2. By ſhewing, that we had ancient Annals, and that our Hiſtorians were men of great Reputation, and that they founded their Hiſtories on theſe ancient Annals. 3. That the beſt Hiſtorians among the *Britains*, do concur to aſſert our Antiquity, and that ſuch as oppoſe it, are men of ſo little authority, as that their Teſtimony ſhould not be put in the Balance with thoſe who ſtand for us. 4. That our Hiſtories are Confirm'd by the authority of ancient foreign Authours. 5. That our Hiſtories have been believ'd and applauded by the beſt of late *Hiſtorians*, *Critiques* and *Antiquaries*, the beſt Judges in ſuch caſes. 6. That the antiquity of our Hiſtory is founded upon ſolid Reaſon, and great probability, as well as upon the Teſtimony of Authours, both within and without the Iſle: which is all that can be done, or is requiſite, for aſſerting, and proving the Truth of any Hiſtory.

For

For clearing whereof, I muſt inform my Reader, that whilſt this Iſle was Pagan, it had for its Prieſts, the *Druids*, who Taught them Sciences, and Letters, and who were ſo famous, that * *Cæſar* tells us, That the *Gauls deriv'd their firſt Learning from them.* And all Hiſtories acknowledge, that theſe us'd to tranſmit the Hiſtories of their own times, in verſes, which were Taught by them to their Scholars: and it is probable, that ſome of theſe *Druids* having been Converted from the *Pagan Religion*, whereof they were the Prieſts, became our firſt *Monks*; being thereto much inclin'd by the ſeverity of their former Diſcipline: as the *Therapeutæ* did for the ſame Reaſon become the firſt *Anachorits* in *Ægypt*; and ſo it was eaſie for them to inform the Monaſteries of what they knew ſo well. And this Hint is confirm'd by a very clear paſſage in *Leſlie's* Preface to his Hiſtory, who being a *Biſhop* himſelf, ſhould be believ'd by another of the ſame Character in a probable matter of Fact. Nor can there be a clearer Confirmation of our having had the

* *Diſciplina in Britannia Reperta, atque inde in Galliam tranſlata eſſe exiſtimatur*: Cæſ. Bell. Gall. Lib. 6. *multa de & eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, de eorum immortalium vi & poteſtate, diſputant & juventuti tradunt.* Ibid.

Cum in publicis rationibus & privatis, Græcis literis utantur. Ibid. By *publicæ rationes*, are probably meant their Hiſtories, at leaſt it is moſt reaſonable to think, that ſince they had the uſe of Letters, they would have written Hiſtories, or ſome ſhort memorials.

the *Druids* amongſt us, than that in ſeveral places of the *Iriſh* Verſion of the *New Teſtament*, the *Wiſe-Men*, or *Prieſts*, are Tranſlated *Druids*: and ſo where the *Engliſh* Tranſlation ſaith, That the *Wiſe-men from the Eaſt came to Worſhip our Saviour*; Our *Iriſh* Tranſlation has the *Druids*, &c. Our Predeceſſours alſo being deſcended from the *Spaniſh Gallicks*, or *Galicians*, as is acknowledg'd by all Hiſtorians; and they having had the uſe of Letters, and of Grammar, long before this time, as * *Strabo* confeſſes, it cannot be imagined, but that we as a Colony of them, would have likewiſe a part of their Art and Learning. Our Predeceſſours alſo had their *Sanachies* and *Bards*, the firſt whereof were the Hiſtorians, and the latter, the Poets of their Traditions, as *Luddus* himſelf acknowledges, and by either of theſe means, the memory of our *Kings* and their Actions, might have been preſerv'd untill the fifth Century; at which time we got Monaſteries; in which (as I ſhall hereafter prove) were written and preſerv'd the *Annals* of our Nation. And ſince nothing,

* *Pag. 96. Edit. Caſaubon.*

thing, but at leaſt great improbabilities, and fundamental inconſiſtencies, ſhould be allow'd to Refute a Hiſtory already receiv'd: I ſhall offer theſe Conſiderations, for clearing, that this way of preſerving the memory of our Kings, is as probable a mean as any can be in Hiſtory.

1. It is probable, that our Nation, as all the reſt of mankind, who are warlike, and in conſtant action, would be deſirous to preſerve the memory of theſe actions, for which they had hazarded their lives, and by which they deſign'd to preſerve that Fame, which they prefer'd to life it ſelf: And that the Kings likewiſe, whoſe Authority and Right was much reverenc'd for its Antiquity, would be as carefull to preſerve thoſe marks of their ancient Dominion.

2. We do not in this ſerious Debate, pretend to ſuch ancient Originations, and Deſcents, as might, through vanity, tempt men to lie, as thoſe doe, who endeavour to derive themſelves from the *Trojans*. All that we pretend to in this Debate,

bate, being onely, that we were a Colony, who probably came firſt from *Greece* to *Spain*, but ſetled certainly in *Ireland* for ſome time: and that we came from them, after the time, in which *Cambden*, and *Uſher* acknowledge that the Nation of the *Scots* (whoſe Name we onely now bear) were long ſetled there. Would not our Accuſers have us truſt the *Britiſh* Antiquities for 2500 years? And the *Iriſh* for a longer time than our own, without any Written Hiſtory, or Manuſcript now extant before *Gilda's* time? And though *Lycurgus* would not ſuffer his Laws to be Written, yet they were preſerv'd in the memories of men, for more than 600 years, as *Plutarch* obſerves; and we and other Nations have preſerv'd Laws for much longer time, without the help of Letters. And the onely points here controverted, being the firſt ſettlement of our Nation, and that we continue Subjects to the ſame Race of Kings; Theſe are matters ſo remarkable, that all Nations know when ſuch changes happened to one another:

As

As for inſtance, though there were no Hiſtory yet extant, we ſhould eaſily have known that the *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Normans* Conquer'd the *Britons*, and alter'd the Race of their Kings. That *Ireland* had many little Monarchs, till they were ſwallow'd up by *Henry* the 2. of *England*. And that *Edward Bruce*, Brother to our Glorious King, *Robert* 1. was choſen King of *Ireland*, with univerſal conſent there, and might have continu'd in that Government, if from too great a love to Fame, and to gain a victory without his Brother, he had not loſt it, and himſelf. And though all theſe controverted points fell out in a time, after the uſe of Letters was known to all Nations, and particularly to the *Druids* and *Romans*, the one whereof were our Prieſts, and the other our Neighbours very long, yet there remains not the leaſt veſtige of a doubt, that our Sceptre was ever ſway'd by any other Race.

3. Though we had wanted the uſe of Letters, as moſt probably we did not; yet the Tradition controverted, is at moſt of about 800

years. For, after that time, it ſhall be prov'd, that we had Records and Annals: And the things ſaid of our Kings, during that time, are ſo few, and ſo remarkable, that men might have Taught the ſame to their Children in a Weeks time: And men liv'd ſo long at that time, that ten, or twelve men might have Tranſmitted the Tradition to one another. As alſo, ſince private Families do preſerve to this day their Tradition, for as long time as this; It was much more eaſie for a Nation, and their Kings to preſerve theirs. Nor can I tell why *St. Aſaph*, in his Preface, can controvert our Tradition, though we could not produce Writers who liv'd in theſe times, wherein theſe actions are ſaid to be done: ſince *he thinks *it reaſonable to judge, that there was the ſame Government here in* Britain, *though for want of ancient Writings, there could be produc'd no plain Inſtances of it.* And if this be allowed to *Epiſcopacy* in theſe times, why ſhould he not have allowed the ſame favour to his Monarchs Predeceſſors,

Page 71.

ſors, in the ſame and more ancient ages?

4. It was much eaſier for us to preſerve our Traditions, than for the *Engliſh*, we being all deſcended from the ſame Race, and being ſtill the ſame People, living under the uninterrupted ſucceſſion of the ſame *Royal-line*; Whereas they were oblig'd to ſuppreſs the Traditions and Memorials of the people whom they had conquered.

5. As no man is preſum'd to lie, or cheat, without ſome great Temptation, ſo the moſt glorious things that are ſaid of us, are true beyond debate. As our having defended the Ground in which we ſetled, againſt all oppoſition to this very day: Our having put the firſt ſtop to the *Roman* Greatneſs: Our having beat the far more numerous *Britons*, though defended by ſtrong Walls, and ſtronger *Romans*: All which cannot be deny'd to have been done by us, and are equally noble, whether we were ſetled here, or not, when we did them. After thoſe controverted Times, it cannot be deny'd, that we carried our Con-

queſts farther into *Britain*, than formerly: That we fought long with ſucceſs againſt the *Saxons* and *Picts*, and did at laſt extirpate the latter: And when we were alone, we continu'd, and extended our former Conqueſts againſt the *Danes*, and *Normans*; which proves alſo, that in the Wars which we had againſt the *Romans*, in conjunction with the *Picts*, the Victories we then got, are chiefly to be aſcrib'd to us. And to Crown all, We have generouſly contributed all that was in our power, to ſupport that Ancient and Royal Family (ſo unparallel'd for its Antiquity) by which we were animated, and inſtructed to doe all thoſe great actions; till they are now become the Monarchs of the whole Iſle; having by a happier way extinguiſhed theſe Wars, and Animoſities, and may he be unhappy who Revives them.

For clearing how this Tradition might have been, and was preſerv'd, our Hiſtory tells us of a probable way, among many others: which was, that at the Coronation of our

Kings,

Kings, one appear'd, and Recited his whole Genealogy. I ſhall trouble my Reader onely with a proof of this Cuſtome, which is ſuch as Confirms alſo the Genealogy of King *Alexander* 3. in the year 1249. prior to *Fordon*'s time, or to the view of any ſuch Debate, and is Narrated by *Fordon* and *Major* in the Life of that King: and being ſo memorable a Fact, and ſo near *Fordon*'s own time, his Relation cannot but be Credited. His words are, *That the King being plac'd in the Marble-Chair, the Crown upon His Head, and the Sceptre in His Hand, and the Nobility being ſet below Him, a Venerable old High landed Gentleman ſtept out, and bowing the Knee, expreſs'd Himſelf to the King in the High-land Language, thus, God bleſs You King* Alexander, *Son of* Alexander, *Son of* William, *&c.* And ſo carried up the Genealogy to *Fergus* the Firſt: which Cuſtome was moſt ſolemnly us'd at the Coronation of King *Charles* the *Martyr*, at which time their Pictures were expos'd, and nobleſt Actions recited.

As alſo, the reciting of their Genealogy was uſual at the Burial of our Kings, a written proof of which Tradition, is to be ſeen in a Manuſcript of *Baldredus Abbas Rynalis*; (for the Abbacy of *Melros*, was ſo called before King *David*'s time, who deſigns them ſo in the foundations of the Lands of *Melros*, which he mortifies to them) and is onely related *verbatim* by *Fordon*, conſiſting of eighteen Chapters, mentioning the memorable actions of King *David*, upon whom the Lamentation is made; who died 1151. and running up the Genealogy of the ſaid *St. David*, to *Fergus* the Firſt, Dedicated to *Henry* Prince of *England*, Grand Nephew to *St. David*, who came to the Crown of *England*, *anno* 1154. under the name of *Henry* the Second; in both which, at leaſt *Fordon* is to be believ'd, having ſufficient Vouchers: This alſo being ordinary in our High-land Families to this very day, not onely at Burials, but Baptiſms and Marriages: and in which Families, men continue ſtill to be deſign'd from their Fathers, Grand-fathers, and very many Genera-

nerations upwards: and is a ſufficient Hiſtorical proof of Tradition, though we had no other Warrand for theſe few ages.

SECT. 3. Proofs from Manuſcripts and Records.

Before I come to clear, that we had Manuſcripts and Records, it is fit to conſider that it is very probable, that as the Hiſtory of all Nations was preſerv'd by their Prieſts and Church-men: ſo ours would be very ready to oblige the Kings, under whom, and the people among whom they liv'd, by writing their Annals. And therefore we may reaſonably conclude, that ſince we were very early Chriſtians, we had therefore ancient Hiſtories written by our Church-men, beſide theſe; which we may pretend to have been tranſmitted to them by the *Druids*. And the *Biſhop* himſelf acknowledges that the Monaſtery of *Hy*, call'd by us *Icolm kill*, (that is *Hy*, the Cell of *Columba*) was founded about the year 560. and it is undeniable, that all our old Kings were buried, and our Records were kept there, ſince its Foundation, until the Reign of *Malcolm Canmore*:

and it is alſo certain, that our Annals were written in our Monaſteries, ſuch as *Scoon*, *Paſlay*, *Pluſcardin*, and *Lindesfern* * Govern'd by three *Scotiſh Biſhops*, *Aidan*, *Finan*, and *Colman*; and *Abercorn*, mention'd by † *Beda*: and *Melroſs*, the Chronicle whereof begins where *Beda* ends, as their Hiſtory now Printed ſhews: Though certainly that *Engliſh* Manuſcript is very unfaithfull, for moſt of the things relating to our Nation, are omitted, as particularly, about the beginning in the year 844. Our Manuſcript obſerves (which the *Engliſh* has not) *That* Alpin *King of the* Scots *died, to whom ſucceeded his Son* Kenneth, *who beat the Picts, and was declared firſt King of all* Scotland, *to the Water of* Tine, and after it expreſſes in his Epitaph,

* Beda *paſſim.*

† *Lib.* 4. *cap.* 26.

Primus in Albania fertur Regnaſſe Kenedhus.
Filius Alpini, prælia multa gerens.

And it obſerves that *he was call'd the firſt King of* Albany, *not becauſe he was the firſt who made the* Scotiſh *Laws, but becauſe he was the firſt King*

King of all Scotland. And each of our Monaſteries had two Books, the one call'd their *Regiſter*, or *Chartulary*, containing the Records relating to their private ſecurities: and another call'd their *Black-book*, containing an account of the memorable Things, which occur'd in every year. And as it is ſtrongly preſumable, that our Hiſtorians would have compil'd our Hiſtories from thoſe: So, this being a matter of Fact, is probable by Witneſſes: and I thus prove it in ſuch a way and manner as is ſufficient to maintain any Hiſtory. *Verimundus* a *Spaniard, Arch-deacon* of *St. Andrews* in *anno* 1076. (as is remarked by * *Chambers* of *Ormond*) Declares in the Epiſtle to his Book of the Hiſtorians of *Scotland*, Dedicated to King *Malcolm*, call'd *Can more*; That, *albeit there are many things in the ſaid Hiſtories, which may ſeem to the Readers to be a little difficult to be believed, becauſe they are not totally Confirmed by foreign Hiſtorians: Yet after they have heard how the* Scots *were ſettled in the North-part of the Iſle of* Albion, *ſeparated by the Sea, from the firm*

* Pag 229.

firm Land, and ſo ſeldom troubled by ſtrangers, to whom they give no occaſions to Write their Actions: And alſo that they have not been leſs happy in having almoſt always among them the Druids *Religious People, and diligent Chroniclers, before the Reception of the* Chriſtian Faith: *and continually ſince* Monks, *faithfull Hiſtorians in the Iſles of* Man *and* Icolmkill; *where they kept ſecurely their Monuments and Antiquities, without giving a ſight or Copy of them to ſtrangers: They will ceaſe to wonder.* This *Chambers* was a Learn'd man, and a Lord of Seſſion, who wrote *anno* 1572, and in his * Preface, ſays, That *he had theſe principal Authours,* Verimund *a* Spaniard, Turgot *Biſhop of St.* Andrews, John Swinton, *and* John Campbel, *&c. and many great Hiſtories of the Abbacies of* Scoon, *called the Black book, and of other like Chronicles of Abbacies, as that of* Inch-colm, *and* Icolm-kill, *the moſt part whereof he took pains to conſider as much as was poſſible for him.* He * cites *Verimund*, for an account of the *Scots* and *Picts*, and after he alſo † cites him for the Miracle

* Page 13.

* Page 24.

† Page 94.

racle of St. *Andrews* in *Hungus*'s time: and he * gives an account of the Tenour of the League betwixt *Charles the great* and *Achaius*, and aſſerts *that the ſame was Extracted out of the Regiſters and Books he menti-on'd*, and particularly, *out of the ſecond Book of* Verimund. Sir *Richard Baker* cites this *Verimund*, among the Authours, out of whom he Compiled his Hiſtory: and with him, he cites *Joannes Campbellus*, who (he ſays) wrote the Hiſtory of the *Scots* from the Origine of the Nation, till the year 1260, in which he liv'd: and alſo *Turgot*, who (he ſays) wrote our Annals from the beginning, till the year 1098, in which he lived (and him likewiſe *Hollinſhed* cites:) As alſo, *Aluredus Rivallenſis*, who wrote the Hiſtory of King *David*, and died *anno* 1166; and *Bartholomæus Anglicus*, who wrote a Chronicle of the *Scots*, and liv'd in the year 1360. Two of which three laſt, we have reaſon to think were *Scotſmen*, and have been called *Engliſh-men* onely, becauſe they liv'd in the Counties which now belong to *England*, but then

* Pag. 95, & 96.

then certainly belong'd to us; and if they be *Engliſh-men*, they are yet the more credible Witneſs for us. And as the worthy *Baker* ſays, he Compil'd his Hiſtory out of theſe Books, which he neither would, nor could, have ſaid, it he had not ſeen them: So it is very probable that he did ſee them; our Records and Manuſcripts having been induſtriouſly carried to *England* by *Edward* 1, as ſhall be hereafter obſerved: Nor can it be anſwered, that he cited them at ſecond hand from *Boeth*, or *Buchanan*, for elſe he had cited the other Authours whom they cite; ſuch as *Richardus de ſancto victore*, *Fordon*, *Major*, *&c.* All this doth evidently Demonſtrate, that we had ſuch Hiſtorians as *Verimund*, and the others above-cited, who aſſerted before *Fordon*, what he has related, ſo that it was moſt unwarrantable to ſay, that theſe things were Dream'd by *Boethius*, but that he was ſeen and conſidered by others, and cited in a particular part of *Verimund*'s Book, which could not be Copi'd from *Boethius*, becauſe he doth not cite

cite *Verimund* for all these Transactions; and upon this * *Balæus*, a Learned *Englishman*, hath rested. And † *Hollinshed* says, that *Verimund wrote a Book* de Regibus Scotorum. Nor can it be deny'd that *Gesner* in verbo *Verimund*, and other famous strangers, cite him as one who has written our History, *ab exordio Scoticæ gentis, usque ad Malcolmi tempora*, And it is incredible to think so good and grave a man could have been so impudent to assert * in his Dedication to King *James* 5, *That these Books were sent to him by the Earl of* Argile; *and his Brother the Thesaurer from* Icolm-kill, and that, *he had follow'd them in writing his History*: Especially since he is, by *Erasmus* that great *Critick*, *admir'd as a most Learned man*, *they having studied together at* Paris, *where he remembers that he was in great esteem.* And in a Letter concerning him, *anno* 1530, insert in the Life of *Erasmus*, he remarks, that *Boethius was a person who could not lie.* How can it then be imagined, that he would have adventur'd to have Printed a whole *Romance*, and have told his King

* Part. post.

† Pag. 100. & pag. 460.

* Et lib. 7.

King and the world, that he had the Manuſcripts beſide him? Nor is this aſſerted onely by *Boethius*, and our own Hiſtorians, but by *Paulus Jovius*, a very famous foreign Hiſtorian, who in his Deſcription of *Scotland*, ſays, * That *in Jona* (which we call *Icolm-kill*) *are kept the ancient Annals, and Manuſcripts in hidden Preſſes of the Church, and large Parchments ſigned by the Kings own hands, and ſeal'd either with ſeals of Gold or Wax.* By which alſo it appears, how nice we have been in ſecuring the Faith of our Hiſtory, the Seals of our Kings being put to what was written by our devout Church-men. And whereas the *Biſhop* of St. *Aſaph*, to leſſen the Credit of *Boethius*, † Relates, that *Biſhop Gavin Dowglas adviſed* Polidor Virgil *not to follow his Hiſtory. Polidor Virgil* himſelf is appeal'd to, where there is no mention of *Boethius* at all, nor could it be; for *Polidor* regrates that *Gavin Dowglas* dy'd *anno* 1520, whereas *Boethius* was not publiſh'd till 1526, and * *Boethius* himſelf informs us, That *he got the Records, from which he form'd his*

* *Aſſervantur in arcanis templi armariis vetuſtiſſimorum Annalium Codices atque item latæ membranæ, ipſorum Regum ſubſcriptæ manibus, aureiſque vel cereis ſigillorum imaginibus obſignatæ; quibus antiquæ leges edictáque & finium ac Civitatum Jura publica continentur.*

† *Pag.* 38. *Præf.*

* *Lib.* 7.

his Hiſtory, were ſent him from Icolmkill, *anno* 1525, *and no ſooner*; neither did he ſee thoſe Warrands from which he Wrote his Hiſtory, till that year. And it appears by that paſſage, that *Gavin Dowglas* believ'd our account, and produc'd a Manuſcript for it, which I now cite, and uſe as a new Adminicle, and I prove it by the *Biſhop* of *St. Aſaph*, and *Polidor*: and whereas the *Biſhop* of *St. Aſaph* pretends that *the Relation given by* Gavin Dowglas *agreed with* Nennius, *but contradicted* Boethius; the contrary is palpable by *Polidor*'s own Relation of what *Gavin Dowglas* writ to him, which agrees with *Boethius* in every thing relating to our Antiquity. The *Biſhop* of *St. Aſaph* is alſo moſt unjuſt to *Boethius*, in alledging, that *Voſſius conſiders him as a fabulous Authour*: For *Voſſius* commends him from what *Eraſmus* and *Buchanan* ſay of him, and in the end Taxes him onely a little *for having believ'd too many miracles*, a fault incident to moſt *Popiſh Writers* in theſe times, but to none more than to the *Biſhop's* own obſcure Authours, for which among

mong many other Teſtimonies, I refer my Reader to them who writ the Prefaces to the Hiſtories of *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, and to *the Life of King* Alfred, and *Walſingham's* Hiſtory. It can alſo be proved by many famous Gentlemen, that the *Black-book of Scoon*, containing our Hiſtories from the beginning, was among *Preſident Spotſwood's* Books, and was given by *Lewis Cant* to *Major General Lambert*, and by him to *Colonel Fairfax*; Which Book King *Charles* firſt had ranſom'd from *Rome* by a conſiderable ſum of money. And it is certain, that *Spotſwood* had it, and the *Black-book* of *Paſlay*, ſigned by the hands of three *Abbats*, when he Compil'd his Hiſtory: Which Book of *Paſlay*, together with the famous Book of *Pluſcardin*, *Buchanan* ſays he had, and frequently Cites: and that there were ſuch Books, is known to the whole Nation. And I my ſelf have ſeen in the Learned *Sir Robert Sibbald's* Library (to whom this Nation owes very much) a very old Abridgment of the Book of *Paſlay*

ſley (which Book *Uſher* himſelf alſo cites) agreeing in every thing with our Hiſtories, and which was extracted *per venerabilem virum Joannem Gibſon Cannonicum Glaſguenſem, & Rectorem de Renfrew, anno* 1501. And two other old manuſcripts, the one call'd, *Excerpta de Chronicis Scotiæ, & Scoti-chronico,* which comes to the Reign of King *James, 2d.* and belong'd to *Doctor Arbuthnot Phyſician* to King *James 5th.* And this proves that there were *Chronica* different from *Fordon.* And the other, *Extracta de Regiſtro prioratus Sancti-Andreæ*, giving the *Iriſh* Names of our Kings. As alſo I have ſeen a manuſcript written by a Brother of the *minores obſervants* of *Jedburgh,* in *Anno* 1533. Containing an abridgment of our Hiſtory, and whereof *Doctor Sibbald* has another Copy. And there is another old manuſcript, written by *Vintonius*, yet extant, which *Buchanan* alſo cites, and follows.

Having thus cleared, that there were ſufficient warrands, upon which our Hiſtorians might have founded: I ſhall in the next place, ſay ſomething of our

Hiſtorians, and clear, that they deſerv'd the credit, and applauſe they met with, and that they founded on thoſe good warrands, from which *Verimund*, *Boethius* and *Chambers* are formerly prov'd to have drawn their Hiſtories, *viz.* Our Ancient Annals and Regiſters.

* Pag. 26. Pref.

Fordon was no *Monk*, as the * *Biſhop* is pleas'd to call him, and we had no ſuch Monaſtery as *Fordon:* But he was *venerabilis vir dominus Joannes Fordon Presbyter*, and is called a *Monk* by the *Biſhop* (who ſtudies ſtill his own conveniency) to make the World believe he was inclin'd to lie, as the *Monks* are ſaid to have been in that Age; and to ſhew him intereſted for the independency of *Monks*, and *Culdees* from *Biſhops*. This Authour began at leaſt to write before the year 1341, For, in his Book, he ſpeaks of that as a preſent year: This Book was ſo eſteem'd, that there were Copies of it in moſt of our Monaſteries, and one of them we have in very old, but in fair Characters, continu'd by *Arelat*; another continu'd by a Reverend man, *Walter Bowmaker*, *Abbat* of *Icolmkill*,

kill, and found in the cuſtody of one, who had preſerv'd ſeveral of the manuſcripts of that Monaſtery: And both theſe continuations have drawn out our Hiſtories to the reign of King *James* 2*d*. And it is not to be imagin'd that the Monaſteries would have eſteem'd it ſo much; or, that the *Abbat* of that Monaſtery, where our chief Annals were kept, would have continu'd it, if they, and he had not known it to agree with their Annals. And *Fordon* cites frequently through his Book *Chronica, & alia Chronica*, and *Beda*, and follows him exactly: he cites alſo *Adamnanus*, who liv'd before the year 700. And *Turgot Archbiſhop* of St. *Andrews*, who liv'd Anno 1098, and *Alvared*, (who dedicated his Book to King *Malcom* 3*d*, about the year 1057.) He cites alſo other foreign Authours, ſuch as *Sigisbert*, and *Iſidor*, and ſo has done all that the *Biſhop* requires, and all that the beſt Hiſtorians can do: Neither does he follow *Jeffrey*, but contradicts him, even in the inſtance of *Baſſianus*, as ſhall be cleared to conviction, in anſwering the *Biſhop*'s

objections. He has in him alſo *Baldredus*, or *Ethelredus*, and the Proceſs before the *Pope*, containing the Copies of the authentick Letters, Objections, Apologies, and Anſwers made, and ſign'd by *Edward* 1. and his *Parliament*, and the *Scotiſh Nobility*, produc'd before the *Pope*, about the year 1300, whereof the Copies are not onely extant from *Fordon*, but the *Biſhop* alſo inſinuates, that the Principals themſelves are extant in *England*, and certainly they were at *Rome*. And *Fordon* cites many other conſiderable old Records: He writes in a good Style, and with good judgment: and the reaſon why this work was not Printed, was not, becauſe it deſerv'd not the Preſs, but becauſe *Boethius*, *Buchanan* and *Leſly* having Printed their Hiſtories in their own time, and there being no Printing in his, it was thought we had Hiſtories enough: which alſo occaſion'd the periſhing of many of our excellent manuſcripts. But why ſhould the *Biſhop* object to us *Fordon* his not being printed, ſince he cites againſt us manuſcripts, never cited by

by any, and which have been left un-printed in a Countrey, where every thing is printed? and I dare ſay, after exact peruſal of the *Biſhop*'s Book, and of the Authours cited by him, that *Fordon* is preferable to all theſe old Legends and moſt of theſe Authours, which he cites againſt us, the venerable *Beda* onely excepted, who is ſtill on our ſide.

Joannes Major was *Rector* of the famous *Divinity School* of *Paris*, and was a man of ſuch Reputation in that Univerſity, as that he is yet remembred with eſteem, and a man of too innocent a life, to have written a Romance, for a Hiſtory, and he likewiſe relates to *Beda*, and our Annals.

One of the moſt accurate Writers in this age * ſays, That *the talent of writing Hiſtory has not been found on this ſide of the Alps in any ſave in* Buchanan, *who hath written the Hiſtory of* Scotland, *better than* Livius *did that of* Rome. The *Biſhop* of *Condom* alſo, and the famous *Rapin* in their exact eſſays concerning Hiſtory, have preferr'd none to him, ſave

* Vicfort memoirs des Ambaſſadeurs.

Mariana the *Jesuite*, whom all men know to be far inferiour, but they prefer *Mariana*, because *Buchanan* was a *Protestant*. *Joseph Scaliger* also says of *Buchanan* and us,

Imperij fuerat Romani Scotia *limes*,
Romani *Eloquij* Scotia *finis erit.*

* Pref. new Translation of Plutarchs lives.

* Mr. *Dryden* also my friend, whom I esteem a great Critick, as well as Poet, prefers *Buchanan* to all the Historians that ever wrote in *Britain*. And though I approve as little of *Buchanan*'s Politicks, as the *Bishop* of St. *Asaph* doth, yet I will not be so unjust to him, as he is, † in saying, that *Buchanan*, in the Life of *Fergus* the first, relates to our old Annals, but he cites them not: for there is no such thing in the Life of that King: And he was not so much a favourer of Monarchy, to have allow'd it the advantage of so singular an Antiquity, if he had not found the same due to it, from our Manuscripts, and Records beyond all contradiction.

† Pag. 30. Pref.

Bishop Lesly, and *Arch-bishop Spotswood* are men who have written our History

Hiſtory with great judgment and truth, and it cannot be imagined, that they who were indeed baniſhed for Loyalty, and ſuffer'd the loſs of all for their perſuaſion, would have aſſerted a whole bundle of lies, or a continued Romance, as the Authour calls our Hiſtory, eſpecially ſince they had both ſeen *Luddus*, and knew that their Hiſtory would be inquired into. And *Leſly* has the confidence to tell in his Preface to the Nobility, That, *his Hiſtory had been drawn with all the exactneſs that the truth of Hiſtory requires from the ancient Records of the Kingdom, and the Monaſteries*, and he was then at *Rome*, whither they were carried. It is alſo very pleaſant to hear the *Biſhop* of St. *Aſaph* inveigh againſt *Dempſter* the *Jeſuite*, one of our antiquaries, whoſe Book certainly he had never ſeen, elſe he would never have call'd him a *Jeſuite*, as he * does. For the very Title of his Book bears, that he was *Baro de Muiresk*, and a *Lawyer*, and he was indeed *Profeſſor honorarius* of the *Civil Law* at *Bologna* in *Italy*, and dyed married, as the Hiſtory of his

* *In quibus ſcribendis ne hiſtoriæ lex violaretur, illa quæ prius ſcripta ſunt, non ſolum exegimus ad veritatem annalium, qui in publico regni noſtri archivo, aliiſque antiquiſſimis codicibus quos majores noſtri Paſceti, Scoñæ, ac in aliis monaſteriis Religioſe ſervarunt, continebantur.* Leſl. præfæn. ad nobil. populúmque Scot. Pag. 29.

* Pag. 153.

Life bears: and we may know by the Elogies of the greateſt *wits* in *Italy*, how much they eſteem'd him for his extraordinary learning, and parts. I may add to theſe, *David Camerarius de fortitudine*, &c. *Scotorum*, beſide *Richardus de ſancto victore*; and *Cornelius Hibernicus*, both which wrote our ancient Hiſtories, the laſt of them liv'd in the year 1140. And they are both follow'd by *Boethius*, and cited by *Voſſius*, *Baleus*, *Sixtus Senenſis* and others: and alſo *Adamnanus* that wrote St. *Columba's* Life.

From all which it appears, that our Hiſtorians have been men of great credit, and eſteem; and have founded their Hiſtory upon more authentick Documents, than almoſt any other Hiſtorians in the World; *viz.* the Records of many Monaſteries, in the time when Monaſteries were very devout, and upon the univerſal Tradition of the times, both Ancient and Modern; and that before there was any competition or controverſie concerning our Antiquity: and that what they have ſaid, has been univerſally believ'd, by all the

the learn'd World. To which I ſhall add that our Clerk of Regiſters *Skeen*, the great Antiquary had added from theſe ancient Records a Chronology of our Kings, and which he has inſert amongſt our Acts of Parliament. Is not then the *Biſhop* of *St. Aſaph* much to blame, when he would have all this paſs for a Romance, and all theſe Authours to be repute as onely one? Becauſe, as he ſays, they followed one another from *Fordon*, and he follow'd *Jeffrey*: neither of which is true. Though I confeſs the contrivance of this untruth was pretty, but happily diſappointed, by their aſſerting that they founded their Hiſtories upon the old Records of our Monaſteries, and on *Turgot*, *Verimund*, and others; all which they had ſeen, and who are elder than *Fordon*. And it might be as well objected againſt witneſſes, that they came in and depos'd one after another; giving for the reaſon of their knowledge, that they had ſeen what they depos'd.

If all Manuſcripts, which I have cited, were extant; I doubt not but

but the Authour himſelf would acknowledge our Hiſtories to be inſtructed beyond debate; and therefore if I can inſtruct them to have once been, they muſt be repute, as good as extant ſtill. For both Law, and common Reaſon having conſider'd, that Papers are very ſubject to be loſt, and to periſh; have therefore allow'd, that if it can be prov'd that there were ſuch Papers, and that they were loſt by accident, that this probation ſhall ſupply the loſs. And I deſire to know, if the Warrands of *Doctor Burnet's* Hiſtory of the Reformation had been burnt, would not the *Biſhop* of *St. Aſaph* have been angry, if his Teſtimony and *Doctor Stillingfleet's*, had not been ſufficient to prove the tenour of them. And what have we for many Authours, whom *Livie*, *Joſephus*, and *Herodot* cite, beſide their own Teſtimony? And what probation did ever Mankind ſee ſtronger, than that which we adduce in this caſe? For firſt, that all our Monaſteries did write our Annals, is beſide common Fame, and univerſal and late Tradition, which paſſes over

over all our Countrey, prov'd by the other Authorities above-cited: If then two ordinary Witneſſes be ſufficient to prove a matter of fact: we muſt much more allow, that this matter may be prov'd by very many perſons, conſiderable for their devotion, and quality. 2. There are other Manuſcripts yet extant, ſome whereof I my ſelf have ſeen, and have formerly nam'd, all agreeing with the tenour of our Hiſtory, and long prior to *Luddus*'s ſtarting of this debate, in *Anno*, 1572. And ſo muſt prove ſufficiently to adminiculate our Hiſtories, and theſe Witneſſes, eſpecially ſeeing they have nothing in them contrary to reaſon, or other credible Hiſtories; but on the contrary, are ſupported by both: and written by Authours of great integrity, and knowledge; and have been receiv'd with great applauſe in the World; and are alſo confirm'd by the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians themſelves. And therefore I muſt conclude with the learn'd *Voſſius*, * *That albeit the old monuments of* Rome *periſht, that therefore the faith of their Hiſtory ſhould*

* De Hiſt. Lat. p. 4.

ſhould not periſh with them.

Leſt it might be thought that we our ſelves caus'd deſtroy theſe Records, we now cite, to prevent farther inquiry; and to ſhew how much harder it is for us, than other Nations, to be call'd to ſuch an account: I ſhall deſire Strangers to be inform'd, as a *caſus omiſſionis*, that our ancient Records were deſtroyed in three remarkable occaſions. 1. When *Edward* the firſt took away all our Records that he could find, having, as all Hiſtorians declare, reſolv'd to aboliſh all memory of our Nation: and of which we accus'd him before the *Pope*, and he did not deny it. 2. When our *Monks* flying to *Rome* at the Reformation, carry'd with them their Records. 3. By *Cromwell*, who carry'd our Records to *England*, and many of which were loſt at Sea in their return.

SECT. 4. The other Hiſtorians of this Age cited againſt us, Examined.

But if our Hiſtorians are to be rejected, I hope, it muſt be by the Authority of far moe, and far more credible Authours, agreeable to a principle of *Doctor Stilling fleet's*, the Patron

Patron of our *Biſhop's* Book, who * ſays, *Certainly they who undertake to contradict that which is received by common conſent, muſt bring ſtronger, and clearer evidence; than that, on which that conſent is grounded, or elſe their exceptions ought to be rejected with the higheſt indignation.* Which Principle, as it ſeems to be recommended by reaſon, ſo it is founded upon the expreſs Law of all Nations; by which it is acknowledg'd, that the Teſtimonies of Witneſſes are not to be reprobated, but by others in a double number, and who are of far greater Authority. And from this Principle, it is, that if a Jury of Fifteen hath abſolv'd a Man unjuſtly, though that Jury conſiſted of the meaneſt Men of the Nation, yet their Verdict cannot be Queſtion'd for errour, otherwiſe than by twenty five, whereof moſt part muſt be perſons of quality, who muſt proceed upon moſt infallible grounds, and evidences. By this rule then, our Hiſtorians cannot be redargu'd, otherways than by the Teſtimonies of far more unſuſpected Hiſtorians, who agree in what they

* Orig. Sac. p. 114 Sect. 5.

they aſſert againſt us, and who are receiv'd with greater applauſe in the World, than ours, and proceed upon far ſtronger evidences. Let us then examine, if theſe qualifications can be found in thoſe Hiſtorians, by whom, the faith of ours is to be overturned. And firſt, as to the old *Britiſh* Hiſtorians, it might be objected by us, that they are too much intereſted, both becauſe the Subject Matter is an emulation for Antiquity between the two Nations, and becauſe they were over-run by our Countrey-men at that time, to a degree to make them paſſionate enough, for diſabling a Witneſs: And as it is very remarkable that *Florentius Wigornienſis*, *Malmesburienſis*, *Huntingdonenſis*, and *Hoveden* wrote about the Reign of *Henry* 2. and *Tho. Walſingham*, and *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, in the Reigns of *Edward* 3. and *Henry* 6. At all which times there were great Wars and Animoſities betwixt the Nations. So if any man will read the ſad lamentations that are in *Gildas*, and the rage with which he cries out againſt us, no man can allow him to be an unſuſpected

ſuſpected Judge, or Witneſs, in what concerns our Honour: *Polidor Virgil* ſuſpects, * *That there are ſome things ſuppoſititious in the Hiſtory of Gildas*; and if any thing, certainly we may ſuſpect moſt, what is added concerning us; ſince the deſign of detracting from our *Hiſtory*, poſſeſt too much thoſe, who were Maſters of that Manuſcript, and Printed the ſame. And yet *Gildas* ſays very little, that can be wreſted againſt us in the points controverted: being as *Beda* interprets him, clearly for us, as ſhall hereafter appear. 2. As our Writers are not inferiour in number, ſo moſt of theirs deſerve no credit, and they agree not ſo well againſt us, in the points controverted, as our Authours do in what they aſſert; *viz. when we ſetled here*, and who were *our firſt Kings*: For * *Nennius Britannus* does poſitively ſay, *that the* Scots *came here in the time of* Brutus. *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* ſays, that *we ſetled here the eleventh year after Chriſt*. And *Baker* * acknowledgeth, that *Severus built his Wall againſt the* Scots *and* Picts, without mentioning this to be the firſt incurſion

* Pag. 16.

* Cap. 3. as cited by S. *Aſaph*, pag. 14. pref.

* Pag. 2.

incurſion: and this at leaſt confutes the *Biſhop of St. Aſaph*, who aſſerts that we were not come to this Iſle even by way of incurſion, till after the year 300. As they thus differ remarkably as to our Origination, and moſt of them follow *Jeffrey*'s ridiculous inventions, as our Authour himſelf acknowledges: So *Holinſhed* ſpeaking of thoſe ancient times, ſays, *That* Scotland *had in thoſe days two Kingdoms, the one whereof conſiſted of the* Picts, *called* Pictland; *and the other of the* Iriſh *Race, call'd* Scotland: *which I hope* (ſays he) *no wiſe man will readily deny.* And *Caixton* in his old Chronicle of *England*, tells, that *the King of the* Scots *aſſiſted* Caſſibulon *King of the* Britons *againſt* Julius Cæſar, which ſhews that our Antiquity was believed. And *Baleus* a moſt famous *Engliſh* Chronologiſt, ſays, that * *the* Scots *wrote*, &c. *ex incorrupta annalium fide.*

3. That our ſettlement was ſo ancient, as not onely to have been contemporary with their *Hiſtorians*, but even to be higher than their Chronology could reach to; appears from this, that *Gildas* declares † *he knew*

* Pag. 16.

* Bal. præf. part. poſt.

† De excid. Brit.

knew nothing of us, but what he was forc'd to borrow from beyond Sea. * Beda *places us amongſt the old Inhabitants of this Iſle:* without condeſcending upon the particular time: which he had given us, if he had known it himſelf, as he did in all other occaſions. *Nennius* their next Authour to *Beda*, owns, *that the moſt skilfull amongſt the* Scots, *affirm'd, in his time, that we were deſcended from* Scota: as our Authours now doe. * And the eldeſt after him, affirm, that *we are deſcended from* Albanactus *ſecond Son to* Brutus. And this is ſo far acknowledg'd by ſucceeding Ages, that *Edward* the firſt *did upon that account claim the ſuperiority to* England *over us, as* Cadet *to* Locrinus *the eldeſt Son of* Brutus. And we may ſee in *Hollinſhed,* * *where he brings in many* Scotiſh *Kings doing Homage to the Kings of* Britain, *long prior to this year* 503. and in which ſeveral of their Authours agree with him. And the *Biſhop* foreſeeing the unanſwerable ſtrength of this Argument, acknowledges *this ſuperiority to be a moſt unjuſt pretenſion*, as indeed it is; eſpecially

* Cap. 1. Beda

* St. *Aſaph*, p. 101

* L. 2. De ſcript. Britan. c. 8, & 9.

ſeeing it is undeniable, that there was no ſuch thing known in the World then, as that *Feudal Homage* which the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians contend for; there being no Veſtige thereof in any part of *Europe*, till the 800 year of God, and we having had no ſuch Kings as theſe whom they name in that ancient Homage. But yet even all theſe Forgeries prove clearly, that we were conſider'd by thoſe Writers, as Inhabitants here paſt all Memory, and as ancient as themſelves. * *Giraldus Cambrenſis* alſo conſiders us, *as deſcended from* Gathelus *and* Scota; which proves not onely, that this old Tradition was believ'd, but that *Fordon* was not the inventer of it. For *Girald* liv'd about 200 years before *Fordon*. There is likewiſe a very full and well written Manuſcript in the hands of the Lord *Maitland*, which makes us *to come from* Spain, *about the year of the World*, 3242. *and to have been firſt govern'd by Captains, and thereafter govern'd by the Kings mention'd in our Hiſtory.* 4. There are no poſitive Authorities produc'd againſt us, condeſcending expreſly, when our *Royal Line* did begin,

* Girald Camb. Diſtinct. 3. cap. 7.

begin, ſave three *Legendary Stories*, written with deſign, in whom no Proteſtant Biſhop can find any conſiderable paſſages, worthy to be cited: the eaſieſt things in them being, * *that a Child made a Fire of Ice*; † and that when *St. Columba* was ſick, his *Mare wept*. And thus our Adverſaries, as ſtrong, as they conceive, in their Authority as *Sampſon*, offer to defeat us with the Jaw-bone of an Aſs.

* Vita St. Pat. Cap. 5.
† Vita *Columb.* per *Adamn.* lib. 3. c. 16.

The firſt is a nameleſs Authour of *St. Patrick*'s life, cited by * *Uſher*, who affirms, that when *Neil Neilialagh was King of* Ireland, and *Conſtantius was Emperour*, Muredus *King of* Ulſter, *had ſix Sons, who poſſeſt themſelves of the Northern parts of* Britain; *and the Nation ſprung from them* (as *Giraldus* repeating this paſſage, ſays) *was by a ſpecial name called* Scotland. *And it may be*, ſaith the *Biſhop. Reuda*, mention'd by *Beda, was one of theſe ſix Sons.* Joceline, another Authour of *St. Patrick*'s life, † tells, that *the twelve Sons of the King of* Dalrieda *in* Ireland, *having deſpiſed their youngeſt Brother* Fergus, *he complain'd of them to St.* Patrick:

* De Eccl. Brit. primord. p. 587.
† Cap. 137.

trick : *And he Propheſied to him, that from him ſhould deſcend Kings, who ſhould reign in many foreign Kingdoms : and accordingly* Fergus *became King of all* Dalrieda, *and after his Succeſſours had for many Generations Reigned there*, Aidanus, *the Son of* Gabranus, *conquer'd* Albania, *now call'd* Scotland, *and the other Iſles, in which his Poſterity by due Succeſſion Reign to this day. But an elder Authour cited by* Cambden (*and whom* * Uſher calls the *writer of the* Tigernack *Annals*) *brings the* Scotiſh *Kings from another Origine, to which* Uſher *himſelf is inclin'd. Fergus* (ſays that Authour) *the Son of* Eric *was the firſt of the off-ſpring of* Chonar, *who obtain'd the Kingdom of* Albania *from* Brown-Albain, to the *Iriſh Sea* and *Inchgall*, whom he places *Anno* 503. *and from him the Kings of* Fergus's *Race Reign'd in* Brun-Albain, *or* Brun-heir *to* Alphin *the Son of* Eochal, *and with this* (as the Biſhop ſays) *the* Iriſh *Genealogies agree :* And thus our approv'd Hiſtory muſt be overturn'd by Legends, and Genealogies.

* P. 610.

Upon which paſſages I beg leave to make theſe few reflexions. Firſt, that

that (beſide, that theſe Authours liv'd not within 600 years of the times of which they wrote (which the *Biſhop* of *St. Aſaph* objects to ours) they do alſo contradict not onely our Story, but the *Roman*, who place us here much ſooner.) All theſe three Authours contradict one another, in the moſt remarkable part of our Hiſtory, and in a late Origin: which ſhews them neither faithfull, nor learn'd Chronologiſts. The firſt nameleſs Authour, writer of the life of *St. Patrick*, makes *our King to have been one of the Sons of* Mured, whom *Uſher* conjectures *to have been* Reuther: and he muſt have liv'd in 360. For *Conſtantius* reign'd then, and *Mured*'s Sons liv'd in his Reign: *Jocelin* makes *Aidan to be the firſt, and to have ſprung from* Fergus *after many Generations*: And this agrees well with ours, but not with the other Writers of *St. Patrick*'s *life*. For we place the beginning of *Aidan*'s Reign in 570. and it could be no ſooner, according to *Jocelin*. The third, is the Authour of the *Tigernack Annals*, or an ancienter Writer cited by *Cambden*, who places *our firſt*

King in 503, and there he is call'd *Fergus*; and ſo they neither agree in the name of our firſt King, nor in the time of their entry to this Kingdom. Which dreaming Glances have ariſen from an imperfect notion of our Hiſtory, the firſt having borrow'd his from *Beda*, who brings *us here, ſub duce Reuda:* the ſecond has been invented, to fulfill the Prophecy of St. *Patrick*, who promis'd the Kingdom not to *Fergus* himſelf, but to one of his Succeſſion, and therefore finding none of our Kings nam'd in *Beda*, ſave *Reuther*, and *Aidan*; he fixes on *Aidan* as the lateſt. And the third of theſe, finding that *Fergus* was uncontrovertedly the name of our firſt King, will rather contradict the reſt, and go back from *Aidan* to *Fergus*. And thus they cleuſh here, making the firſt *Fergus*, the ſecond, as they do elſewhere, in making *Scotia* to be *Ireland*, or *Scotia major*.

2. Since the *Biſhop*'s Authours are ſo irreconcileable, what Warrands can he, or they have, to contradict our poſitive Hiſtory? * And *Biſhop Uſher* cites another Authour of St. *Patrick*'s

* De Primord. pag. 611.

Patrick's life, *Meyerus*, who tells us that *after* St. *Patrick's Voyage about this Iſle; he turn'd his Boat to an Iſle which bears to this day the name of St.* Patrick; out of which Iſle, I believe, the Accuſers of our Hiſtorians got their beſt Intelligence.

3. That this *Reuda* could not be one of *Mureda*'s ſix Sons, is moſt clear, both becauſe *Beda* ſpeaks of the *Scots* coming to this Iſle, as very ancient, even in his time, which could not be, if this had happen'd in *anno* 360; for *Beda* liv'd in *anno* 730, and how can it be imagin'd, that *Beda* could not have known the whole Series of a Royal Deſcent, that was ſo recent? Nor do our Hiſtorians, whoſe faith is not controverted after *Fergus* the ſecond, mention any *Reuda* after his Reign: and ſo he behov'd to be an elder King, and conſequently we had Kings before *Fergus* the ſecond, which the Authour denies. Nor could any of theſe Sons of *Mureda* have been *Fergus* the ſecond, whom theſe late Inventours call our firſt King, for no Authour makes *Fergus* the ſecond to have reign'd, within

more than 40 Years, after *Conſtantius*. *Luddus* and *Cambden* aſſert us to have ſettled here, under *Fergus* the ſecond, in the Reign of *Honorius*; at which time *Fergus* the ſecond did indeed Reign. *Uſher* relates onely the three Authorities of thoſe ridiculous Legends: and *the* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* fixes on the year 503, and ſo contradicts not onely our Hiſtorians, but * *Luddus* and † *Cambden* in making *Fergus* the ſecond near 100 years later, than truly he was.

* Pag. 62.
† Cap. Scoti.

As theſe few prime and late Authours who controvert our Antiquity, differ thus in the names of our firſt Kings, and the time of their ſettlement in *Scotland*: ſo they differ in theſe following Cardinal points of their new invented Hypotheſis. The Biſhop of St.* *Aſaph* thinks it neceſſary, for maintaining that the *Scots* ſettl'd not till the 503, to aſſert that *the* Picts *fill'd all the Northern part of* Britain, *and that theſe* Picts *were a ruder ſort of* Britons, *divided in* South, *and* North Picts: in which he follows * *Cambden*; yet with this difference, implying a contradiction,

* Cap. 1.
* Camb. Cap. Pict.

tradiction, that *Cambden* makes theſe *Deucaledones*, and *Vecturiones*, to ſignifie by a *Britiſh* derivation, *Picts*, to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt*: whereas the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, from a *Britiſh* derivation of the ſame words, calls them *Southern* and *Northern Picts*. But *Cambden* does acknowledge plainly, that in this derivation, he differs from the venerable *Beda*, whoſe Authority he truly foretells will weigh down the reaſons he brings for his conjecture. And as he, contrary to the univerſally receiv'd opinion, denies the *Picts* to be *Schythians*, though they were really ſo, he makes the *Scots* to be *Schythians*, though really they were not ſo.

* *Uſher* not having conſidered all the Scheme and conſequences of this new Hypotheſis (as the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* has done with more cunning) follows *Beda*, in bringing the *Picts* from *Schythia*, but he differs from *Beda*, in that he brings them here after our *Saviour*'s birth: and produces ſuch Authours, as he uſes in our occaſions, who aſſign three different Periods of time, for their ſettlement: the laſt whereof, and to which

* De Primord. ca. 11. init.

which he inclines, is ſaid to be, under the Emperours *Gratian* and *Valentinian*: and ſo makes the *Scots* and *Picts* to have come in together about the year 400, and yet he finds no inconveniency in bringing us to *Scotland* under *Gathelus* and *Scota*, and in aſſerting, that we ſettled firſt in *Galloway*, whereas all our Hiſtorians do juſtly ſay, *Gathelus* and *Scota* never came to *Scotland*, and the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* and *Cambden* aſſert our deſcent from *Scota*, to be a fiction, and the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* *confeſſes us to have *firſt fixt in* Argile.

* Cap. 1.

Another material difference amongſt them is, that the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* * confines us and the *Picts* for 1000 years, be-north *Grahams Dike*, call'd *Severus Wall*, beyond *Clyde* and *Forth*. Whereas *Cambden* † aſſerts that *Edinburgh* was the chief Seat of the Kings of the *Picts*, and derives the names of *Louthian*, *Edinburgh*, and *Pictland*, from *Pictiſh* words.

* Cap. 1. Sect. 12, & 13.

† Cap. Pict.

From all which it clearly appears, that no weight is to be laid on ſuch irreconcileable Authours: and yet by theſe onely, is the Antiquity of our Kings

Kings and Nation controverted. But to confirm fully our Hiſtory, from *Julius Cæſar*'s time, and to ſhew that the *Britiſh* Hiſtorians, do not onely contradict one another, but do contradict the two onely ancient Hiſtorians, who could underſtand any thing of our Origin, as being the eldeſt and moſt deſerving of all their own Authours, *viz. Gildas* and *Beda*: I do appeal to them. And I begin with *Beda*, becauſe he is more full, and interprets the other. The venerable *Beda*, though a *Saxon* himſelf, and ſo an enemy to us, having written an exact Chronology, according to the periods of time; does in his firſt *cap. de priſcis incolis*, * tell us, that God *was prais'd in five Languages in this Iſle, that of the* Engliſh, Britons, Scots, Picts *and* Latines: and then proceeds to tell, that *the* Britons *were the firſt poſſeſſours, and poſſeſt the ſouth parts, after which came the* Picts *to the northern parts, and the* Scots *under* Reuda, *thereafter made a third Nation, in that part belonging to the* Picts, getting the *Weſtern* part of *Scotland*, *North* from the *Picts*, called *Dumbriton* or *Alcluith*. And he

* *Quinque gentium linguis unam eandémque ſummæ veritatis, & veræ ſublimitatis, ſcientiam ſcrutatur, confitetur* Anglorum, *viz.* Britonum, Scotorum, *&c.* Bed. *l.* 2. *c.* 1. *Eccl. Hiſt.*

he inculcates their fixing here, by three ſeveral, but concurring expreſſions. 1. *Progreſſi ex Hibernia, they left Ireland.* 2. *Sedes vindicarunt in Britannia, they ſettled in Britain.* 3 *in Britannia Britonibus & Pictis gentem tertiam addiderunt,* they *added a third Nation to the* Britons *and* Picts; and that this was very ancient, is clear; for he fixes them in *Britain,* in that Chapter, wherein he treats *de priſcis incolis*; and having thus ſettled the *Scots* and *Picts* in his firſt Chapter, with the *Britains*; he proceeds in the ſecond Chapter, to ſettle the fourth Nation, *viz.* the *Latines* or *Romans,* beginning with theſe words, * *But this* Britain *was unknown, and not entred upon by the Romans, till* Julius Cæſar's *time.* And having deſcrib'd the Wars betwixt theſe three Nations, and the *Roman Emperours,* in a due gradation, marking every period of time, through the Reign of their conſecutive *Emperours:* and how at laſt the *Romans* had abandon'd the *Iſland,* and *Ætius,* the *Roman Conſul,* had refus'd the Petition of the miſerable *Britons,* ſo often defeated by

* *Verum eadem Britannia Romanis uſque ad* Caium Jul. Cæſ. *inacceſſa atque incognita fuit.* Beda *Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 1. cap. 2.*

by the *Scots* and *Picts*: he, in the 14 *Cap.* relates, how the *Britons* upon deep conſultation, brought in the *Saxons*, and from thence continues the *Saxon* Hiſtory. This being the tract of *Beda*'s Hiſtory, is there any place to doubt, but that the *Scots* were ſettled before the *Saxons*? For the Wars betwixt the *Romans* and *Scots* are related exactly before any mention is made of the *Saxons*: and at laſt they are onely brought in to aſſiſt the *Britons* againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*, becauſe the *Britons* were deſerted by the *Romans*, and conſequently the *Saxons* having been brought in *anno* 449. it unanſwerably follows, that the *Scots* were ſettl'd here, and made a third Nation, long before the 503, as the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* alledges, at which time he makes us to have ſettl'd here very cunningly, but not ſincerely, upon deſign to make us later than the *Engliſh*. As alſo it appears very clearly that the *Scots* ſettl'd here even before *Julius Cæſar*'s time, for after *Beda* (who proceeds exactly according to the Periods of time) had ſettl'd us in *Britain*,

Verum eadem Britannia Romani, usque ad Caium: Jul. Cæs. inaccessa atque incognita fuit, Beda Eccles. hist. l. 1. cap. 2.

Britain, he tells, that *this* Britain *was unknown to the* Romans, and describes what these *Romans* did in the Isle, and how they fought with the *Picts* and *Vs*, under their subsequent *Emperours*, without ever speaking again of the entry of the *Scots*: as having settl'd them in the first *cap.* before *Cæsar*'s time. Nor is the time alter'd in any other Period, and he is so carefull of the Period of time, that he subjoyns to his work a Chronological Recapitulation, which is very exact. And he being a *Saxon*, had certainly told (as the Bishop now does) that the *Saxons* were elder than We, if this had been true: which is a demonstration according to the Rules of Chronology against the Bishop of St. *Asaph*. It may be, some may wonder why *Beda* mentions not our coming under *Fergus* the first; and some may object, that in this we go higher than *Beda*. To which it is answered, That our History confesses, that the *Scots* came over from *Ireland*, at several times. Once under *Fergus* the first, but not being numerous enough, *Reutherus* brought over another recruit,

cruit, and thereafter *Fergus* the ſecond brought over others, after his Predeceſſour *Eugenius* was expell'd by the *Romans* and *Britons*. And in ſo old an Antiquity, its much for *Beda*, even to know the Deſcent under *Reuda*. And whereas the *Biſhop* quarrels *Beda*, that he gives no Authority for this; The Reply is, that if it were requiſite, then one Authour behov'd to give another, and he a third, *& ſic in infinitum*. Nor did ever any man before him require an authority in ſo ancient an Authour: and this anſwer is a full proof of the Biſhop's Conviction, who being abſolutely gravel'd here, he grows as angry at *Beda*, as at our Hiſtorians: and tells diſdainfully, that *this might be true for ought* Beda *knew*; and adds, that the *Scots* were indeed here in *Beda*'s time, and he ſpeaks according to his own time, which were to make *Beda* ſpeak great non-ſenſe. For *Beda* ſpeaks here of the *preterit*, and not the *preſent* time, *viz.* The firſt Vaſtations ſpoke of by *Gildas*, and we ſhall ſee that others who lived in the time, agree with him.

The

The ſecond Citation I ſhall bring from *Beda*, ſhall be from the *5th cap. l* 1. *Eccl. Hiſt.* where he ſays, that * *Severus built a Wall to defend againſt the other unconquer'd Nations*, and in the 12 *cap.* he tells that † *Britain was vex'd by the* Scots *and* Picts, *two over-Sea, or Tranſmarine Nations*; and thereafter as if he had been afraid, that this word *Tranſmarine*, might have been miſtaken, he adds, || that *they were not call'd Tranſmarine, becauſe they liv'd, and were ſettl'd out of* Britain; *but becauſe they were ſeparated from that part of* Britain, *by the two Seas*; *which did almoſt meet.* And in this he agrees exactly with *Tacitus*, Who in the life of *Agricola*, ſays, that *there being a Wall built betwixt theſe two Seas, the* Roman *enemies, were clos'd up as in an Iſle.* By this place of *Beda*, it is alſo very clear, that the *Scots* were ſetled in *Britain*, while the *Romans* fought againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*, and conſequently before they were call'd by the *Picts* to defend them againſt the *Saxons*, as is alledg'd by the Biſhop. If the *Scots* had not been living in this Iſle, at that time, the explication

* Bed. *l.* 1. *c.* 5. *Eccl. hiſt. Itaque* Severus *magnam foſſam firmiſſimámque vallum crebris inſuper turribus communitum à mari ad mare duxit.*

† Bed. *l.* 1. *c.* 12. *Eccl. hiſt. Denique ſubito duabus gentibus tranſmarinis vehementer ſævis, Scotorum à circio Pictorum ab Aquilone multos ſtupet gemitque per annos.*

|| *Tranſmarinas autem dicimus has gentes, non quod extra Britanniam eſſent poſitæ, ſed quia à parte Britonum erant remotæ, duobus finibus mari interjacentibus quorum unus ab orientali mari, alter ab occidentali, Britanniæ terras longe latéque irrumpit, quamvis ad ſe invicem pertingere poſſunt.*

explication of *Tranſmarine* had been both ridiculous and untrue. And as it is not preſumable, that the venerable *Beda* would have aſſerted this, if he had not certainly known it; ſo it was very eaſie for him to know it, that being ſo publick a thing, which concerned his own, as well as his Neighbour Nation. But if the *Scots* had ſettled *in anno* 503, *Beda* could not have called them * *Priſci Incolæ*, and reckoned them amongſt the ancient Inhabitants. For a man living in his time, might have told him, that his Father ſaw the *Scots* called over, by the *Picts*: and that they ſettled here in his time. *Beda* being thus clear to a Demonſtration, as far as Chronology and Hiſtory can allow. I deſire to know, how what *Gildas* ſays, can contradict our Hiſtory; ſince he copies *Gildas*, and lived within 110 Years of him? and ſince both wrote the ſame Actions in almoſt the ſame words? or how can it be imagined, that if *Gildas* had known our Origin to be ſo late, he would not have told it to our diſadvantage? whereas on the con-

* Cap. 1.

trary, he ſpeaks of *Scots* and *Picts* as living in this Iſle, after the ſame manner as *Tranſmarin*, in the ſame ſenſe in which *Beda* interprets it; which is becauſe they lived not without the Iſle, but on the other ſide of the Wall, which made an Iſle. From which it follows neceſſarily that in *Gildas*'s time the *Scots* dwelt not without the Iſle of *Britain*; and *Gildas* having been born *in anno* 493, and as is ſaid in the calculation prefixed to that * Edition, which himſelf relates, it is clear that he was born 10 years before that year, in which the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* pretends we firſt ſettled here; and ſo certainly he could not but have taken notice of the ſettlement of a Nation, in which he was ſo much concern'd. And albeit he ſays once, ſpeaking of us, that *Hiberni reverteruntur domum.* Yet that was ſpoke of us, as ſettled here, and as being *Iriſh* by extraction, as ſhall be hereafter cleared. Nor muſt our Hiſtories which are ſo poſitive and unanimous, be overturned by Clenſhes, and Equivocations, and remote weak Conſequences, without Authours

* Pag. 120. *num. edit.* Heidelberg.

thours living at the time and mentioning expreſly ſo remarkable an accident.

Before I enter upon foreign Citations, without the Iſle; I muſt obſerve, that we having kept the *Romans* (the onely writing Nation that had any knowledge of thoſe our Iſles) from entering our Kingdom; they could not know our Antiquities, as they did thoſe of *England*, or *France*, whom they had conquered. But our being ingaged in a conſtant War with them, is ſo univerſally related, by all their Hiſtorians; that, to deny our being a Nation, and in *Britain*, when they ſo frequently and unanimouſly write of us, as *Gens*, *& gens etiam Britannica*, fighting here; cannot but ſeem raillery to any ſerious man; and the being able to controvert it, is rather a mark of nimbleneſs of Wit, than skill in Antiquity. But however I ſhall adduce ſome few Foreign Authours, whoſe Teſtimonies ſeem to me unanſwerable, being joined with, and illuſtrated, by what I formerly

ſaid from the venerable *Beda*, and the Hiſtorians within this Iſle.

Eumenius.

My firſt Authour is *Eumenius* in his *Panegyrick* to *Conſtantine*, in praiſe of his Father *Conſtantius*: who, preferring the Victory *Conſtantius* had over the *Britons*, to that which *Julius Cæſar* had over them; ſays, † *That the* Britons, *at the time* Cæſar *conquered them, were a rude Nation, being onely uſed to fight againſt the* Picts *and* Iriſh *of the* Britiſh *Countrey, enemies half naked, and ſo eaſily yielded to the* Roman *Arms and Enſigns.* By which citation we contend, that it is proved, that in the time of *Julius Cæſar*; there was another Nation beſide the *Picts*, who then inhabited *Britain*; and were a *Colony* of the *Iriſh*; and theſe muſt certainly have been the *Scots*. For it cannot be pretended, that ever there was another *Colony* of the *Iriſh* in *Britain*, beſide us. And it is uncontroverted on all hands, that we are that *Colony* of the *Iriſh*, who onely uſed to fight with the *Picts*, againſt the *Britons*, and therefore, that anſwer made by the *Biſhop*, that

† pag. 258.

that this place relates onely to the *Iriſh*, and not to the *Scots*, is of no moment. But he has another anſwer which his Lordſhip inſiſts more upon; and for clearing whereof, I muſt cite the Latin. *Ad hoc natio etiam tunc rùdis, & ſoli* Britanni Pictis *modo, &* Hibernis *aſſueta hoſtibus, adhuc ſeminudis, facile* Romanis *armis ſigniſque ceſſerunt.* His anſwer is, that the words, *ſoli Britanni*, are the *Nominative*, and not the *Genitive*, and his Lordſhip confeſſes, † *that if the words be in the* Genitive they are clear of *Buchanan*'s ſide. And that they are of the *Genitive*, all diſintereſted men, who underſtand the *Latine*, will confeſs: And *Cambden* himſelf, though a learned School-maſter, and in other citations about our antiquity, ſomewhat more humorous, than ſo worthy a man needed to be; truſts to no other anſwer, but that the *Panegyriſt* ſpoke here, according to the conception of the age wherein he lived. But, as any citation may be thus anſwered, ſo if he had not ſpoken with relation to the time of *Julius Cæſar*, the compariſon and com-

† pag. 11.

plement had, had no force. The learned *Uſher* likewiſe objects not this to *Buchanan*, which ſhews alſo his acquieſcence. 2. If this, *Natio rudis* had been the ſame thing with *ſoli Britanni*, and that the ſenſe muſt be, as his Lordſhip ſays, a *rude Nation, the* Britons; then not onely it had been ſuperfluous, but inconſiſtent with true ſenſe. For how can the ſame thing be copulated with its ſelf; and though it may be ſaid, *Natio rudis ſoli* Britanni, *aſſueta hoſtibus*, yet certainly, *aſſueti* had been more elegant for an Oratour, if *ſoli Britanni* had been the *Nominative.* And the great * *Joſeph Scaliger*, one of the beſt Judges both for that kind of learning, and diſintereſtedneſs, exclaims againſt *Luddus*, for miſconſtructing ſo the words; and therefore the Biſhop might have ſpared the ſaying, † *that* Cambden *ought to have given* Buchanan *correction*; for the great *Joſeph Scaliger*, and *Buchanan* that incomparable *Humaniſt*, are fitter to give, than receive correction from any in the Iſle, or age.

* In not. in lib. 4. Tibull.

† pag. 11.

I muſt

I muſt alſo obſerve, that the Biſhop has pointed theſe words otherways than they are in the Authour; for in the Authour (of *Paulus Stephanus* and *Plantin*'s Editions, who were the moſt learned and exact of all Printers) there is no *Comma* immediately after the words, *ſoli Britanni*, and it is pointed as I have ſet it down here, and even * *Luddus* is juſt here. But the Biſhop has very wittily added the *Comma* after theſe words. Now, without the *Comma* it is clear, that the *Panegyriſt* meant *Pictis & Hibernis ſoli Britanni*; and if the *Panegyriſt* had deſigned that his words ſhould have been conſtructed, as the Biſhop has conſtrued them: So great an *Oratour* would certainly have ſaid, *ſoli Britanni Natio ad hoc etiam tunc rudis, &c.* And in that caſe, the words had been clear, and the ingenious Biſhop needed not, in tranſlating them, to have been forced to uſe the † word, *Nation*, twice, becauſe the ſenſe was hard and unnatural, according to his conſtruction. And whereas the Biſhop pretends, || that *the words conſtructed according to* Buchanan,

* pag. 37.

† pag. 12.

|| pag. *ibid.*

nan, *would not have run ſo ſtrong in the compariſon, for the ſtrength of the compariſon lies*, ſaith he, *in that* Julius Cæſar's *Victory was not ſo great as that of* Conſtantius; *becauſe* Cæſar *overcame a Nation, yet rude, unskilfull of War, and onely* Britons, *a Nation uſed to no other Enemies but* Picts *and* Iriſh; whereas *Conſtantius* overcame *Carauſius*, who had got a *Roman Legion* on his ſide, *&c.* But, by his Lordſhip's favour, the compariſon runs ſtrong enough thus, according to *Buchanan's* conſtruction. Cæſar *overcame the* Britons, *when they were yet a rude Nation, uſed onely to fight againſt the* Picts, *and* Iriſh, *who lived upon the Land, or Iſle of* Britain: *but* Conſtantius *overcame them, after they had been long trained up in War.* And certainly, a Nation is a far more formidable Enemy after their being long trained up in War, than when yet rude and unexperienced; though they had had the acceſſion of a *Roman Legion*; which could ſignifie nothing againſt a whole *Roman Army.* Nor does it follow, that the words muſt be ill conſtructed, be-

cauſe,

cauſe, if ſo, the compariſon would be ſtronger: for it is ſufficient to ſuſtain the conſtruction, that in the compariſon, *Conſtantius* was to be preferred in the way I have mentioned. 4. If there were any doubtfulneſs in theſe words, as there is none; yet they ought to be interpreted ſo, as to conſiſt with other Authours and Hiſtories, and eſpecially with *Beda*; for in our ſenſe, they confirm his Chronological Account, of our being in this Iſle, before *Julius Cæſar*'s time: and the Biſhop muſt ſtill remember, that he cannot overturn our received Hiſtories except he produce Arguments, which infallibly conclude againſt them: It being a rule in Law that, *verba ſemper ſunt interpretanda potius, ut ſcriptura, vel actus ſubſiſtat; quam ut deſtruatur.* This ſhews alſo that in *Conſtantius*'s time, which was about the Year 300. the *Britons* were *aſſueti, uſed to fight* with the *Scots* and *Picts:* and this uſe muſt imply a long time. And ſo it is very probable, that we had frequent Wars with the *Britons*, long before this time, and conſequently

† Sect. 5, 6. cap. 1. quently the Biſhop errs, † aſſerting *We were not in* Britain *even by way of incurſion, till the year* 300.

If it be objected, that in the phraſe *Soli Britanni, Britanni* is a Subſtantive, *Britannici* being ſtill the Adjective; and therefore theſe words muſt be conſtructed to be the Nominative Caſe, as St. *Aſaph* alledgeth. I prove the contrary by *Lucretius*,

Nam quid Britannum *Cœlum differre putamus, &c.*

Claudianus *de quarto Conſulatu* Honorii,

Terribilis Mauro, debellatórq; Britanni
Littoris. ———

A farther confirmation of this, ariſes from the ſame *Eumenius*, in this ſame *Panegyrick:* where ſpeaking of *Conſtantius*'s Victory over this Iſland, he ſaith, *Neque enim ille, tot tantíſque rebus geſtis, non dico* Caledonum *aliorúmque* Pictorum *ſilvas & paludes, ſed nec* Hiberniam *proximam, nec* Thulen ultimam, *nec ipſæ ſi quæ ſunt, fortunatarum Inſulas dignabatur acquirere.* And though

Eumenius, *ibid.*

though *Uſher* foreſeeing the force of this Argument, endeavours to elude it, by contending, that by the *Caledonii*, are here mean'd the *Picts*, becauſe, the Words *aliorúmque Pictorum*, had elſe been impertinent. Yet to make the *Scots* not to be *Caledonians* in ancient Authours, were too great a Task, even for *Uſher:* that being contrary to the univerſally received opinion of all the Learned; * ſome of which, I have cited in the Margin, but for a farther proof, I ſhall here cite a *Roman* that lived very near *Eumenius*'s time, and who almoſt ſpeaks in the ſame words with him, *Latinus*, *Pacatius*, *Drepanius*, who in his *Panegyrick* to *Theodoſius* the elder, that lived *anno* 367, complements him, upon * having reduced the *Scots* to their Mariſhes, clearing that the *ſilvæ* and *paludes Caledonum* were, the *Scotorum Silvæ*. Though Strangers in thoſe ancient times, could little diſtinguiſh *Picts* from *Scots*. And from which I farther evince, that the *Scots*, before the Year 400, dwelt in *Scotland*, as their own Countrey; elſe it had been impertinent

* *Guidus Pancirollus coment. ad notitiam imperii occident.* p. 159. where he cites for this *Dion. Euſebius & Spartianus*, and ſays that *Caledonia apud eos nunc Scotia dicitur Dion. in vita Severi Imp. anno* 207. *Bergier. l.* 1. *c.* 10.

* Pag. 248. Edit. Plantin. *Redactum ad paludes ſuas Scotum.*

tinent and untrue, to ſay, that *the Scots were reduced to their own Mariſhes.*

Having thus cleared that the *Scots* were *Caledonians*, it clearly follows, that all the ancient Authours who write of the *Caledonii*, prove the Antiquity of the *Scots*, and therefore *Valerius Flaccus* proves our Antiquity, who writing to *Domitian*, in praiſe of his Father *Veſpaſian* who was known to have made War with us about the Year 70 after Chriſt, ſays,

—Caledonius, *poſtquam tua Carbaſa vexit*
Oceanus Phrygios prius indignatus Iulos.

* Lib. 10. Epig. 44. And **Martial* who lived in *Auguſtus* time ſays,

Quinte Caledonios, Ovide viſure Britannos,
Et viridem Tethyn Oceanúmque Patrem.

Next to theſe I cite *Tacitus*, who in the life of *Agricola*, brings in that famous *Galgacus*, who did fight the *Romans*, near to the *Grampian* Hills.

Hills. And that he was a *Scotiſh* King, or *Leader*, is confirmed from * *Lipſius*, who calls him *Galgacus Scotus*. This is alſo confirmed by the exact and noble *French* Manuſcript foreſaid; which ſays, that *Dardan* was choſen, becauſe *Galdus* was not of age: Alluding to our old Law, appointing that the immediate Heir of the Crown, being by his Infancy unable to govern, the Government ſhould in that caſe be devolved upon the next, who was able to govern: which Law was ſo ancient, that it is ſaid to be enacted immediately upon the death of *Fergus* 1. And by *Bergier*, afterwards King's Advocate of *France*; who in his learned Hiſtory of the High-ways of *Rome*, * calls him *Prince of the* Caledonians *or the* Scots. And to what better Judges can we appeal, in a matter concerning *Roman* Antiquities, and the ſenſe of a *Roman* Authour; than to thoſe two, who are the moſt famous of all the *Roman* Antiquaries? the one having written a Book concerning the *Roman* greatneſs, and the other concerning the magnificence of the *Romans* in their High-ways. Nor could he

* Comment. ad vit. Agric.

* L. 1. cap. 10. numb. 9 *Prince des Caledoniens. ou Eſcoſſois.*

Petruccio Ubaldini alſo in deſcript. de la Scotia p. 4, & 5. aſſerts the *Scots* to be *Caledonians.*

he be an *Iriſh* King: for what had an *Iriſh* King to do with an Army in the midſt of *Scotland*, and againſt the *Romans*, with whom no *Iriſh* King ever fought? And that he was no *Briton*, is clear from the ſpeech he made to his Souldiers, telling them that they had never been conquered, *ſervitutis expertes, & nullæ ultra terræ.* Nor can any thing agree better, with our being ſtill called one of the two unconquered Nations, by *Gildas*, *Beda*, and others. This is yet farther cleared by another paſſage in this ſame life of *Agricola:* wherein * *Tacitus* ſays, *The third year of the War diſcovered new Nations, which* Agricola *conquered, even to the River* Tay. And after this he adds, Agricola *having beat* Galgacus *near to the* Grampian *Hills, brought back the* Roman Army *to the Borders of the* Horeſti; *and having received Hoſtages from them, he ordered the Commander of the* Roman *Fleet to ſail about the Iſle.* From which I deduce, firſt, that *Galgacus* was no *Briton:* For *Tacitus* ſays, that *the third year opened new Nations:* whereas *Agricola* knew the *Britons* be-

* Tacit. vit. Agric. c. 22. *Tertius expeditionis annus novas gentes aperuit: vaſtatis uſque ad* Taum *(æſtuarii nomen eſt) nationibus* Agricola *in fines* Horeſtorum *exercitum deduxit: ibi acceptis obſidibus præfecto Claſſis circumvehi* Britanniam *præcepit, &c.*

before; and theſe muſt have been the *Scots* and *Picts*. For they could not be any other, being beyond the River *Tay*. And *Galgacus* could be no *Pictiſh* King, for we have a Manuſcript, bearing all the names of the *Pictiſh* Kings. 2. From this paſſage it is clear that *Cambden* does err groſly, in making the *Horeſti* to be a people in *Eskdale*; which is a *Scotiſh* Countrey on the Borders of *England:* For (beſide that all Authours agree, that they are known to be the Inhabitants of *Angus*, and *Mernes*) it is here demonſtrated by *Tacitus*, that after the *Romans* paſt *Forth*, they came to *Tay*, (which is known to be the March of *Angus*) and from thence they marched to the *Grampian* Hills, where they fought with *Galgacus*; and from which he returned to the Borders of the *Horeſti*, where finding the Fleet in the *Frith* of *Tay*, where he had left it, he embarqu'd the Hoſtages, and ſent the Fleet back to that part of *Britain* whence they came. And how could all this be in *Eskdale*? That being very remote from the place of Battel, and *Eskdale* an inland

land Countrey, very remote from all Sea. 3. *Tacitus* writing of us, under the name of *Caledonians*, mentions the Mariſhes of thoſe who fought, which were appropriated to us by *Eumenius* and *Pacatius*, as I formerly obſerved. By all which we may obſerve, how little *Engliſh* Writers are to be credited, when they write upon deſign to leſſen our Countrey, or magnifie their own. And all this is confirmed by the learned * *Ferrarius* a ſtranger. And to this I may add, that we have to this day a Barony, called *Galdgirth*, or the *Girth* of *Galdus*; and ten great Stones in *Galloway*, called King *Galdus* monument: marks of antiquity far preferable to any manuſcript; as the Teſtimony or conſent of a whole Nation, is to that of one private perſon. Two of which arguments are uſed by *Chambers*, in the Life of *Galdus*: and he had ſeen *Verimund*, and our old manuſcripts: and ſhould he not then be our King *Galdus*, who reigned at that time, and who (as all our Hiſtories relate) fought againſt the *Romans*, in this place, which was within the *Scotiſh* Territories? The

* Lex Geograph. verb. Horreſti.

The third citation ſhall be from *Seneca*; and is clear teſtimony for us in the Judgment of the great * *Scaliger*. SENECA.

Ille Britannos *ultra noti littora ponti,*
Et cæruleos Scoto-Brigantes *dare* Romuleis,
Colla catenis juſſit, & ipſum nova Romanæ,
jura ſecuris tremere oceanum.

* To which *Cambden* anſwers, that for *Scoto-Brigantes*, we ſhould reade *Scuta-Brigantes*. But this is very ridiculous; for we reade, that the *Picts* were called *Picti*, for painting their bodies; but never for painting their Shields. I know likewiſe that *Hadrianus Junius* reads *Cute-Brigantes*; but this would be ill verſe: for the firſt ſyllable in *Cute*, is by its own nature, ſhort: but according to this reading it would be long. I might to this add that anſwer made by *Florus*, the Poet, to *Adrian* in *Spart*.

Ego nolo Cæſar *eſſe*,
Ambulare per Britannos,
Scoticas *pati pruinas*.

* *Scalig. ad lib. 4. Tibul. ad Meſſal.* And in his notes on *Euſebius ad annum MMLX*, Where there is a moſt learned and full proof of our Antiquity, too long to be inſert here, and too learned to be anſwered by any adverſary.

* *V. Salmaſ. in Solin.*

For why ſhould we read *Schythicas*? ſince *Adrian* was never in *Schythia*; but did fight againſt the *Scots*: and caus'd make the *vallum Adriani*.

2. Why ſhould not rather *Scotia*, than *Schythia* be joyned to *Britannia*? as * *Uſher* argues moſt juſtly upon the like occaſion. 3. The *Pruinæ Scoticæ* were famous about that time; for *Claudian* hath,

* *Cap.* pag. 728. de Primord.

* cap. 16. p. 728. * *Ille* Caledoniis *poſuit qui caſtra pruinis.*

And *Claudian* does ſo expreſly and ſo frequently ſpeak of the *Scots* as ſettled here, and deſcribes them to be thoſe people, who conſtantly fought againſt the *Romans*, with the *Picts*; that the citing him againſt us may convince the Reader, that our adverſaries are not ſerious. Which will appear when I have cited, and illuſtrated him.

In his *panegyrick*, upon the third *Conſulat* of *Honorius*, he complements him upon the victory of his Grand-father *Theodoſius*, who behov'd to be come into *Britain* long before the year 382. wherein *Theodoſius* his Father was choſen *Emperour*.

Facta

Facta tui numerabat avi, quem littus aduſti
Horreſcit Libyi, ratibúſq; impervia Thule.
Ille leves Mauros, *nec falſo nomine* Pictos,
Edomuit, Scotúmque *vago mucrone ſecutus*,
Fregit hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.

And in the fourth *Conſulat* of the ſame *Honorius*.

Ille Caledoniis *poſuit qui caſtra pruinis.*
——*maduerunt* Saxone *fuſo*
Orcades, *incaluit* Pictorum *ſanguine* Thule.
Scotorum *cumulos flevit glacialis* Ierne.

And *de bello Getico* he ſpeaks of the *Roman Legion* that returned from fighting with the *Picts* and us; (of which * *Beda makes* expreſs mention.)

* Bed. Eccl. hiſt. L. 1. cap. 12.

Venit & extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto *dat fræna truci, ferróq; notatas*
Perlegit exanimes Picto *moriente figuras.*

That all this is applicable to us, is clear, becauſe, 1, We had war with the *Romans*, and the *Iriſh* had not. And all theſe verſes in *Claudian* are ſpoke to magnifie the *Roman* Conqueſt. 2. Since we have proved, by other Authours, that the *Scots* were ſettled here, it is proper and ſuitable to common ſenſe, to apply the ſame to us onely; and theſe Paſſages of *Claudian* are appropriated to the *Britiſh Scots*, and not to the *Iriſh*, by the great *Engliſh* Antiquary *Selden*, in his *Mare Clauſum*, whoſe words, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 8. at the end are, *but yet it is to be conceived, that the Dominion of the* Romans, *was ſo limited in this Sea, according to their Poſſeſſion of the Shoar, that they had little power in that part of the* Britiſh *Sea, which bordered upon the Shoars of thoſe* Britiſh *Nations, who were not under their obedience: This is to be taken chiefly of the* Iriſh *Sea, and the reſt that lies North weſt, for when the* Roman *Empire began to decline, not onely in* Ireland, *but the Iſle of* Man *alſo; and the other Iſles of the Weſtern Sea, and a great portion of the more Northernly part of* Britain,

Britain, *was poſſeſſed by the* Scots *and* Picts; *ſo that we have ſufficient ground to conceive, that they alſo had an ancient Dominion of their own in the Neighbouring Sea.*

From which I conclude, that the *Scots* in *Selden*'s opinion, were ſettled here long before *Claudian*'s time; for elſe they could not be ſaid to have *poſſeſſed the Northern part of* Britain; and to have had before that time *ancient Dominion over their own Seas.* And who could underſtand this Controverſie better than *Selden*, *Scaliger*, &c. And how agrees this with St. *Aſaph*'s making us to have been here onely by way of Incurſion, and not to have ſettled till about the Year 500, as being the onely perſons concerned in thoſe battels, and to the Iſle, in which it is known that the ſame were fought.

3. Have the *Iriſh* made any mention of this War, in any of their Hiſtories? and conſequently, though *Scotia* had been a common name to *Scotland* and *Ireland* in thoſe days: yet the circumſtances of the Action, related by the *Poet*,

determine which of the two is here meant.

This is yet farther clear from the *Panegyrick* of *Sidonius Apollinaris*.

——— *Victricia* Cæsar
Signa Caledonios *transvexit ad-usque* Britannos.
Fuderit & quamquam Scotum, *& cum* Saxone Pictum.

As to which, all that *Cambden* (much better acquainted with citing, than reasoning) can answer; is, 1. That *the* Poet *here wrote a complement according to the vulgar opinion of his own times, which cannot be true*, (as he says) *because the* Saxons *were not then come to* Britain. But he should have considered, that 1. If this was the opinion of *Sidonius*'s age, who liv'd *anno* 480, * as *Gesner* affirms, which was very near to *Claudian*'s time, who liv'd in 497, as † St. *Asaph* calculates: we must conclude, that is the rather to be believed, that then the *Scots* lived here, for that is not inconsistent with History, as the other is, and so should be believed, though the other be not. 2. There were *Saxons* living then in *Zetland* or *Orkney*, though

* Gesner. *in verb.* Sidonius.

† P. S.

though they were not ſettled in *Britain*, as is clear by *Claudian* himſelf, who ſays———

Maduerunt Saxone fuſo Orcades.

And whereas it is ſaid that

——*Flevit glacialis Jerne*

does make the ſame applicable to *Ireland*, ſince *Jerna* is called *Ireland*. To that it is anſwered, that 1. It is clear that there is a Countrey in *Scotland*, called *Jerna*, near to which the *Romans* had a noble Camp, and whereof the Veſtiges are very remarkable to this day, and in which there are Stones found with *Roman* Inſcriptions, deſigning the Stations of the *Legions*. And certainly it is more proper to ſay, the loſs was lamented in that Countrey, where the Battel was fought, than in that Kingdom, where the *Romans* never fought any. And why did the Poet joyn *Jerna* in the ſame lamentation with *Caledonia*? if he had not deſigned by it to expreſs *Jerna*, as a part of our *Scotland*. And this is more proper, than to make the Poet join part of one to another different, and remote Kingdom. As alſo *Strathern* in *Scotland*, is in-

deed a place, where the Froſt is ſtrong, and continues long, as being very near the Hills. But *Ireland* was known to be, and is yet a Countrey much freer from Storms, and Ice; and was believed by the Ancients to be ſo, as is moſt clear by * *Beda*. 2. Though the Poet had underſtood *Ireland* by *Ferne*; yet it does not follow, that becauſe *Ireland* lamented the loſs of the *Scots*, who were killed here; that therefore the *Scots* that were killed, were not the *Scots* that were planted in *Scotland*: ſince certainly *Ireland* could not but have lamented even the death of *Scots*, who were ſettled here; as *Scotland* and as the *Scots* here did lament very much, the death of the *Scots* who were killed in *Ireland* in the late Maſſacre. And as the Biſhop himſelf argues in the caſe of the *Panegyrick* above-cited, I may far more juſtly argue here, that this ſenſe agrees better with the Poet's noble flight, who makes the loſs, that the *Scots* ſuſtained, to be ſo great, that it was lamented even in *Ireland*. And theſe Verſes in the ſame Authour, deſign'd

* L. 1. cap. 1.

deſign'd likewiſe to the praiſe of the ſame *Theodoſius*

——————Pictos
Edomuit, Scotumque *vago mucrone ſecutus*,
Fregit hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.

are onely applicable to the *Scotiſh Colony* ſettl'd in *Scotland*. For he magnifies *Theodoſius*, Grand-father to *Honorius*, for having purſued ſo far his victory, that he beat the Northern Seas with his bold Oars. Now, beſide all the other Arguments formerly us'd, can it be ſaid, that *Theodoſius*'s Souldiers ever went to *Ireland*? that *Ireland* lyes North-weſt from *Clyde*, or *Severus-Wall*? whereas it is certain they were in *Scotland*, and it is very probable that they would follow the *Scotiſh Colony* into the North-weſt Iſles, or over *Clyde*, where its formerly prov'd the *Scotiſh Plantation* firſt ſettl'd.

The third Teſtimony, ſhall be that of * *Hegeſippus*, where he brings in *Ben-gorion* diſſuading

* Lib. 1. cap. 1. Hegeſippus *de excidio Hieros*, l. 5. cap. 15.

Quid vobis cum victoribus univerſæ terræ? quibus ſecreta Oceani, & extrema Indiæ parent. Quid attexam Britannias interfuſo mari toto orbe diviſas, & à Romanis in orbem terrarum redactas. Tremit hos Scotia quæ terris nihil debet.

the

the *Jews*, to fight againſt *the* Romans, *the Conquerours of all the Earth, whom the unſearched places of the Ocean, and the fartheſt places of* India *obey. What ſhall I ſay of the Iſles of* Britain *divided from the reſt of the World, by Sea, and reduc'd by the* Romans *to be a part of the World; who makes* Scotland *to tremble, which owes nothing to any part of the Earth?* To which *Cambden* anſwers, that this muſt be interpreted of *Ireland*, becauſe the words, *Quæ terris nihil debet*, muſt be interpreted, as if the *Scotia* here ſpoke of, were joyn'd to no other place; and that is onely applicable to *Ireland*, and not to *Scotland.* But what a hard ſhift is he here driven to: for none can interpret, *Quæ terris nihil debet*, in that ſenſe, there being nothing more different, than theſe two expreſſions, *Which is not joyn'd to the other parts of the Earth*, as *Cambden* would interpret it; and *which owes nothing to any part of the Earth*, as the Authour expreſſes it. There is nothing more ordinary, than for one, who thinks he depends not upon another, to ſay, *I owe you nothing.*

And

And certainly it agrees much more with the Authour's intention, to interpret theſe words ſo, *Scotland, which ow'd homage to no place, does tremble at the* Roman *Arms.* 2. It cannot be ſaid, that ever the *Romans* did attack *Ireland.* And to clear this beyond anſwer, in the ſame harangue, cited out of *Ben-gorion* himſelf by *Uſher*, * *Ben-gorion* ſays to the *Jews*, that *when the* General *of the Nations onely came, theſe Nations reſiſted them; but when the* Roman Emperours *themſelves came, they ſubmitted to them.* And I deſire to know, if ever *Ireland* was invaded by the *Romans.* So that what is ſaid in the harangue, is not applicable to the *Scotia Hibernica*, as they pretend; but to that Countrey, wherein we now live. As alſo, by the ſame *Ben-gorion*, it is clear, that *Nero* being diſcourag'd upon the rebellion of the *Jews*, and *Veſpaſian* coming to him, comforted him, by remembering him, that *ſome of his Captains had conquer'd all the Weſtern World*, France, Scotland, *and the Land of* Tubal. And whereas, *Uſher*, to leſſen this Authority, is forc'd to alledge, that *Hegeſippus* Works were ſpuri-

* p. 726, & 727. *Ad quos cum veniſſet dux exercitus Romani, oppoſuerunt ſe illi, nec voluerunt ei ſubditi eſſe: Cum autem Reges Romanorum venerunt, ſubegerunt eos ut ſervirent ipſis.*

* Vid. cap. 27. l. 4. Euseb. Eccl. Hist.

ſpurious: this contradicts * *Euſebius*, who makes him to have liv'd, *Anno Chriſti* 160. And though *Uſher* contends, that both theſe Authours muſt be late, becauſe *Hegeſippus*, who onely cites *Ben-gorion*, names *Conſtantinople*, which chang'd not the name of *Bizantium* till about the beginning of the 4th Century. But the Anſwer is eaſie, *viz.* that this being a Tranſlation from the *Greek*, the *Tranſlatour* has us'd the name, that was beſt known in his own time. And the *Engliſh*, and other Nations have acknowledg'd this to be the work of *Hegeſippus*, and tranſlate it as ſuch. *Uſher* himſelf indeed is inclin'd to think, that this was the work of *St. Ambroſe*: but even that is ſufficient for us, for not onely is *St. Ambroſe* himſelf older than the 503 year, and ſo proves that our Countrey was before that time called *Scotland*, but *St. Ambroſe* relating this Speech made in *Veſpaſian*'s time, muſt prove, that this Countrey was call'd *Scotland*, in *Veſpaſian*'s time, who was elected *Emperour* 72 years after *Chriſt*.

* Tertullian.

* *Tertullian*, who died in the year 202, and ſo muſt have written ſome

ſome time before that, and could not have written of us as *Chriſtians*, and a Nation; if we had not been ſo, for a conſiderable time: for Informations did ſpread ſlowly in that age, when there was ſo little Commerce, and at ſo great a diſtance. This great *Dr.* of the *Primitive Church*, writing againſt the *Jews*, who he knew would examine the truth of the matter of fact alledg'd againſt them, ſays * for the honour of the *Chriſtian Religion*, which he was defending, that *thoſe Inhabitants of* Britain, *which could not be ſubdued by the* Romans, *yet willingly yielded to the yoak of* Chriſt. From which it is urg'd, that in *Tertullian*'s time, there were Nations in *Britain*, which had never ſubmitted to the *Roman* yoak, but yet ſubmitted to the yoak of *Chriſt*. But ſo it is, that could not be meant of the *Britons*, for all the World knows, and the Biſhop confeſſes, that long before that time, they had ſubmitted to the *Romans*. And therefore it is clear, that there were other Nations in the Iſle, and that could not be true, except the *Scots*, as well as the *Picts*, had been ſettled in the Iſle, at that time. For a vagrant

* Tertul. l. adverſ. Judeos, cap. 7. Et Britannorum Romanis inacceſſa loca, Chriſto vero ſubdita, *which* Baronius *applies to us*, *Tom.* 5. *p.* 537. *St.* Alaph, *Pref.* p. 8.

vagrant company of Robbers, could not be call'd a Nation: and this Authour writes of *Britiſh* Nations: we muſt therefore have been a Nation, as the reſt were, and therefore, ſince they were ſettl'd, ſo muſt we have been. Nor can this be meant of the *North*, and *South Picts*, though it were prov'd, that the *Picts* were diſtinguiſh'd into *Northern*, and *Southern*. For theſe could no more be conſider'd as different people, than the *Northern* and *Southern Engliſh* can now be ſaid to be different Nations. 2. That ſenſe was not ſo much for the honour and extent of the *Chriſtian Religion*: and the *Jews* might have lookt upon *Tertullian* as a *Jugler*, for making one Nation appear two. 3. Our ſenſe agrees better with *Beda*, who aſſerts poſitively, that from *Reuda's* time, the *Scots* made a third Nation, in the Iſle of *Britain*, with the *Britons* and *Picts*.

* Ammianus *l.* 20. Conſulatu vero *Conſtantii* decies terque *Juliani* in *Britannis* cum *Scotorum Pictorúmque* Gentium ferarum excurſu rupta quiete condicta loca limitibus vicinæ vaſtarentur, & implicaret formido provincias præteritarum cladium congerie feſſas.

**Ammianus Marcellinus*; who wrote about the year 360, tells us, that the *Scots* and *Picts* haraſſed the

Countrey

Countrey. But the Biſhop unjuſtly adds, that then they firſt haraſſed it. But this cannot be, for *Ammianus* ſpeaks of their fear, as occaſion'd by a tract of bygon defeats; and this he elegantly expreſſes by the words, *congerie præteritarum Cladium*; which ſhews, that theſe he ſpeaks of in the 360. Were not the firſt of many overthrows, that the *Britons* had got from the *Scots* and *Picts*: and ſo our being here muſt be much ancienter than the 360. And our having fixt, and known limits, demonſtrates to all, who underſtand the *Roman* Antiquities, that we were then a fixt and ſettl'd Nation, in the ſame Iſland with the *Roman* Provinces of the *Britons*; the Sea, or any part of it, being never ſignified, by their word *Limes*.

* St. *Jerome*, in his Epiſtle to *Jovian*, cites *Porphyry*, who liv'd in the third *Century*, under *Diocleſian*, and ſo above 200 years before the 503. His words are, *neither* Britain *a Province fertile of Tyrants, and the* Scotiſh *Nation, and all the Barbarous Nations, dwelling around the Ocean, knew* Moſes, *and the Prophets*. By the

* *Lib. 2. ad Jovian an.*

the *Scotiſh Nations*, * *Uſher* under-ſtands not the *Schythians*, but the *Scots*, becauſe they are in this place joyn'd to *Britain*: but though both he and the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* would apply this citation to *Ireland*, yet this Gloſs is moſt abſurd; for by the former argument, the word *Scots* ſhould be apply'd to us, for we are joyn'd to *Britain*, but *Ireland* is no more joyn'd to *Britain*, than *Schythia*: and the ſame *Jerome*, in next citation, calls the *Scots* a Nation of *Britain*, where he ſays, * That *when he was young, he ſaw the* Scots *a Nation of* Britain *feed upon mans fleſh.* From which it is clear, that the *Scots*, at that time dwelt in *Britain*, which agrees very well with *Beda*; who calls the *Scots* the third *Britannick Nation.* And this is farther clear'd, by his aſſerting, that *Pelagius* was of a *Scotiſh* Race: in the Neighbour-head of *Britain*; which proves clearly, as the learn'd * *Baronius* obſerves, that there were *Scots* then in *Britain*, who were *Chriſtians*, elſe how could they have been *Pelagians.* Nor can this eating Mans fleſh, be thought any juſt re-flexion

* Cap. 16. p. 788. *de Primord.*

* Quid loquar de cæteris nationibus, cum ipſe adoleſcentulus in *Gallia Scotos* Gentem Britannicam humanis veſci carnibus vidi. l. 2. ad *Jov.*

* Præf. l. *in* Iren.

* Tom. 5. p. 537.

flexion on the Nation; for certainly theſe have been ſome Rogues, who have fled out of the Nation, becauſe they knew they would have been puniſh'd for this Crime. Nor can their eating Man's Fleſh in *France* be charg'd on us, but on the *French*, where this is ſaid to be ſo publickly done, that St. *Jerom* could have ſeen it; and there is no Hiſtorian that ever charg'd this on our Nation, nor any part of the Iſle, even in our moſt barbarous times. And if it had been any ways common, there would have been a Law made againſt it: and *Boethius* relates, that there was one mean man guilty of it, who was thereupon executed exemplarly. And in what Nation are there not ſome Monſters?

Another of the *Reverend* **Fathers* of the *Primitive Church*, enumerating the Nations, which were deſcended from *Japhet*; mentions the *Britons* and *Scots*, whoſe Iſle is *Britain*. This ſhews, that there were *Scots* living in *Britain*, in *Epiphanius*'s time, and ſo he proves not onely our antiquity, by his own Au-

* Epiphanius *in auchorato.* p. 117. *ad par* Britanni, Scoti, *quorum inſula eſt* Britannia.

thority; but confirms, and explains what was formerly urg'd from *Jerome*, in whoſe time he liv'd, and to whom he wrote Letters.

† *Receptam partem inſulæ à cæteris indomitis gentibus vallo diſtinguendam putavit*

† *Oroſius*, who in *Anno* 417. Says, that *Severus thought fit to ſecure that part of the Iſle which he had, by a Wall from the other unconquer'd Nations.* And that *We* and the *Picts* were theſe unconquer'd Nations, appears from * *Beda*, wherein he deſcribes thoſe very Actions, in thoſe very Words. And all theſe Authors agreeing with *Beda*, and writing of the Times wherein themſelves liv'd, are ſufficient Teſtimonies, according to the *Biſhop*'s own ſtricteſt rules. And they clear, how unjuſt the *Biſhop* is in leſſening *Beda*'s Teſtimony, when it makes for us: by ſaying, he ſpoke then according to the times wherein theſe Actions happen'd: for we ſee, that they who wrote, and liv'd in the time of thoſe Actions, agree fully with him, as they ſpeak clearly for us.

* *Cap.* 5. and 12.

SECT. 6. Proofs from Reaſon.

Having thus clear'd the Antiquity of our Kings and Nation from the

the Hiſtorians both within and without the Iſle. I now proceed to clear theſe from the Principles of ſound Reaſon: As to which, let us conſider, That it being acknowledg'd by *Uſher*, and the Authors he cites, that *Ireland* was peopl'd by the *Scots*, before *Julius Cæſar*'s time, and by their own Authors, whom that *Biſhop* cites, they are ſaid to have been ſo anciently there, that we do not know, how many Ages they poſſeſs'd that Iſle, before *Julius Cæſar*. And they being a very broody People, as all Northern Nations, and particularly they, and we are; could not but have multiply'd ſo exceedingly as to need relief, and evacuation by Colonies. And it can never be pretended, that the *Iriſh* did ſettle any other Colony, ſave in *Britain:* though it be undenyable, that all thoſe Northern Nations were very deſirous, and concern'd to extend, by Colonies, the Empire of their whole Nation, and thereby the Poſſeſſion and Property of every particular man in it. Nor do we ever read, that the *Iriſh* had any Wars with Strangers,

whereby they might have either wanted men to ſend into Foreign Colonies, or have been forc'd to keep them at home, for their own defence. Whether then are our Hiſtories more probable, which make this Colony to have come over before *Julius Cæſar*; or the *Biſhop* of St. *Aſaph*'s account, who makes us not to have ſettl'd here, till 503 years after Chriſt? And though I eſteem the *Iriſh*, yet I muſt remark, that our humour differs ſo much from theirs, that it may from thence appear, that we ſtay'd not long amongſt them, and that we came from thence very early.

2. By all the tract of the *Roman* Hiſtories, as well as by *Beda*'s, *Gildas*'s, and ours, it is clear, that the *Scots* and *Picts* fought jointly againſt the *Romans* in this Countrey, which we now poſſeſs: That the Walls built by *Adrian*, and *Severus*, were built here, to defend againſt them: That Complaints were made to the *Romans* by the *Britons* of them, and that Succours were crav'd againſt them: That the *Saxons* were call'd in, to defend the

Britons

Britons, from the *Scotiſh* and *Pictiſh* Incurſions: That they were call'd jointly, *unconquer'd Nations*. All which points prove, that they were equal in every thing, and why not then in their being equally ſettl'd here? And therefore, except it were clearly prov'd, that the *Scots* were not ſettl'd and fix'd here, as the *Picts* were; and that there were Authors produc'd, who living in theſe times, declar'd, that in the year 503. the *Scots* were firſt call'd to defend the *Picts*, as the *Saxons* are clearly prov'd to have been call'd in, againſt the *Scots*, and *Picts*, in the year 449. very near to the year 503. which is ſaid by the *Biſhop* to be our entry: It muſt be neceſſarily concluded, that the *Scots* were here at the time wherein all theſe things are told of them joyntly, with the *Picts*.

The third Argument ſhall be, that it's undenyable, that the *Scots* and *Picts* were ſuch conſtant and formidable enemies, that the *Romans*, and *Britons*, who then poſſeſt the Southern part of this Iſle, were forc'd to build two Fences againſt them: The firſt betwixt *Tyne* and *Solloway*,

which was call'd *Adrian's Wall*: And the ſecond, by *Severus*, who having enlarg'd the *Roman* Conqueſt, built a ſecond betwixt *Forth* and *Clyde*; and call'd it by his own name. How then can it be imagin'd, that the *Scots* did not live on the other ſide of that Wall? for if they had liv'd in *Ireland*, the Wall had not been neceſſary, or uſefull againſt them. This common ſenſe would declare to a Stranger, upon firſt reading the Story; and much more ought it to be believ'd, if we conſider, that if the *Scots* came from *Ireland*, in *Corroughs*, as the *Biſhop* of St. *Aſaph* alledges, from *Gildas*: then they might have landed upon the *Britons* ſide of the Wall, nay and which is more, they could not conveniently have landed on the other ſide, except they had gone too far about, and croſs'd a very broad and dangerous Sea.

3. Though people come once, or twice, from a Foreign Nation, by Sea, to rob and pillage, yet it is againſt ſenſe to think, that for many hundreds of years, the *Iriſh* would have come over, to make War againſt

gainſt ſuch powerfull enemies, and return once a year. And it appears clearly, that this was a conſtant War, from before *Julius Cæſar*'s time, for above 600 years: and in thoſe ages, it is known, that there were not very convenient means fall'n upon, for tranſporting men, much leſs Armies; they having onely *Corroughs*, as the *Biſhop* of St. *Aſaph* himſelf acknowledges: And theſe are a miſerable little kind of ſhapeleſs Boats, made of Leather, ſtreatcht upon Timber, as we find them, and the *Iriſh* Sea, deſcrib'd by * *Solinus*, who liv'd near theſe times, and writes, that *Mare, quod* Juvernam & Britanniam *interfluit, undoſum & inquietum toto in anno, niſi æſtivis pauculis diebus, eſt navigabile: navigant autem viminiis alviis, quos circumdant ambitu tergorum bubulorum.* And how theſe could tranſport an army every year to fight againſt ſuch powerfull enemies, as the *Romans* and *Britons*; and how they could carry back in them the great booty worthy to be fought for, eſpecially over ſuch broken ſeas, that are yet

* Pag. 352.

terrible in the beſt ſeaſon, to the beſt of our Boats, and the ſtouteſt of Sea-men, is left to be conſidered by men judicious, or diſintereſted in any meaſure: eſpecially, ſeeing they behov'd to return in the Winter time; for it's preſum'd, they fought all Summer: And even then, they had not the chooſing of their own fair weather; but had juſt reaſon to be afraid, that they would be chas'd away, as Robbers uſually are; and as the *Biſhop* of St. *Aſaph* aſſerts, they often times were. But as all this is abſurd, and incredible, according to the *Biſhop* of St. *Aſaph*'s hypotheſis; ſo it is moſt conſiſtent with ours; in which we aſſert, that the *Scots* ſettl'd on the other ſide of *Clyde*, from which they might come every year; which agrees alſo well with *Beda*'s ſaying, that the *Scots* ſettl'd, *ad partem ſeptentrionalem ſinus Acluith*, or *Dumbriton*; a narrow Sea, and call'd one part of the *Mare Scoticum* by the *Engliſh* Authors, and particularly by †*Holinſhed*, * *Major*, and || *Polidor*; and was ſo deſign'd in the forms of holding Circuits, as is clear by the 4. Chap. of

† Pag. 16. *deſc.* Brit.
* *In initio.*
|| Pag. 6.

of the Laws of King *Malcom* 2. and by *5th.* Act P. 3. *J.* 2*d.* And ſince in the ſaid Laws of *Malcom* 2. who reign'd, *Anno* 1004. The Frith of *Forth* is call'd *Mare Scotiæ*, the *Sea of Scotland*, and that is mention'd as a Law in old obſervance, it muſt be concluded, that this Countrey, where we live, was call'd *Scotland*, long before the year 1000. as *B. Uſher* aſſerts. For ſince *Tacitus* and *Beda* ſay, that we were inclos'd by that Sea, and the Wall, as in an Iſle; it ſeems that this was call'd the Sea of *Scotland* then, it being our March at that time. Nor are theſe Friths improperly call'd ſeas, being 40. miles broad in ſome places; and this alſo agrees with our being *tranſmarini*, or on the other ſide of the ſea, (which are the words uſed in the ſaid Statute) but not out of the Iſle; and it is ſtrange, that the *Viſigoths* ſhould have ſettl'd in *France* and *Spain*; The *Oſtrogoths* in *Italy*, ſhortly after they had made their inroads; and yet we ſhould have return'd yearly, for above 600. years, notwithſtanding of the former difficulty.

4*ly.*

4*ly*. The *Scots*, coming over to this Iſle, could not but know, that the ſouthern parts of it were very rich, and the People there very cowardly, even to admiration; as the *Biſhop* of St. *Aſaph* himſelf relates, from all their Hiſtorians: and there was place enough for a Colony of them in this Iſle, or elſe how could they have planted themſelves after, when the *Picts* became more numerous? and both the *Scots*, and the *Picts* had good reaſon to expect every year new additions of Land: and it is probable, that our Anceſtors, being a Colony of a more ſouthern Nation, ſtrangers in *Ireland*, and but lately ſettl'd there, left their confinement in the *Iriſh* Iſle, as ſoon as they could, to inlarge their victories, and poſſeſſions in this larger; and which afforded greater Glory. How then can it be imagin'd, that they would not have ſettl'd a Colony here, which was far leſs dangerous, and more noble, and advantagious? than to be conſtantly robbing for ſmall booty, to the danger of their lives. But that they fought for land, and not for booty,

booty, is very clear, not onely from the practice of others, but from *Sabellicus*, * *gliſcere indies id malum augebatur duarum gentium audaciâ : apparebátque brevi totam inſulam alienatam iri, niſi ejuſmodi conatibus maturè iretur obviam.*

* Æneid. L. 9. C. 1.

5. How is it imaginable, that the *Picts* (finding themſelves in ſo great danger, from the *Romans*, and *Britons*, the one very conſiderable for their valour, and the other for their great numbers,) would not have intreated the *Scots* to ſtay conſtantly with them? for though they had been equal to their enemies, when the *Scots*, and they were together; yet they could not be but much inferiour to them, when the *Scots* left them once every year.

6. If the *Iriſh* had conſtantly ſent in auxiliaries to aſſiſt againſt the *Romans*; it is not to be believ'd, but the *Romans* would have reſented this injury againſt the Kingdom of *Ireland*: which they never did, except once, * when the *Iriſh* gave the *Scots* ſupplies, endeavouring to re-eſtabliſh themſelves after the expulſion of *Eugenius*. And if this

* Buchan. p. 128.

War

War had been carry'd on by the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and not by the *Scots* in *Scotland*; we had certainly heard, that the Kings of *Ireland* had been mention'd both in the *Roman*, *Engliſh*, and our *Hiſtories*: for it is not to be imagin'd, that ſo long, and ſo great Wars could have been carry'd on by the Subjects, without the conſent of the King and Kingdom.

7. If they never had been call'd in by the *Picts*, to ſtay as a Colony, till the *Saxons* had beat the *Britons*, who had lately call'd them in to their Aſſiſtance: how is it imaginable to think, that the *Picts* would have call'd them in as Auxiliaries at that time? having ſo lately ſeen, how dangerous Auxiliaries might prove; eſpecially conſidering, that the *Scots* had been us'd many hundred years to robbing, as the *Biſhop of* St. *Aſaph* would have us believe, and that they were a part of a numerous near Nation, from whom they might expect ſuddenly great Supply: or that they would have not onely run this riſque, but have divided with them their little

little Countrey, and yet not have employ'd their Assistance, for the ends, for which they call'd them in. For the Bishop * tells us that the *Scots* did nothing, for 100 years after they were call'd in.

* Pag. 17.

8. It cannot be deny'd, but that about the year 792, † there was a League entred into betwixt *Charles the Great*, call'd *Charle-Maigne*, King of *France*, and Emperour of the West, and *Achaius* King of *Scotland*, call'd by all the *French Historians* the *famous Alliance*. In which the King of *Scotland* did send over 4000 Men to the Assistance of *Charles the Great*; and this is testified by *Æquinardus* who wrote the History of these Times, and was † *Secretary* to *Charles the Great*; and who is cited by *Usher*, at which time the King of *Scotland* sent over very many famous Learn'd Men, who founded the incomparable *University* of *Paris*. All which is clear by † *Favin* in his

† *Chambers* particularly, p. 9. & 96. also from p. 229. to the end of the Treatise.

* *Scotorum quoque reges sic habuit ad suam voluntatem, per suam munificentiam inclinatos ut eum nunquam aliter quam dominum pronunciarent: extant epistolæ ab iis ad eum missæ, quibus hujusmodi effectus eorum erga illum judicatur.* Æquinard. *vita Caroli magni ad annum* 791.

† Lib. 5. pag. 80. *Æquinard.* Secretary to *Charle-maigne* maketh a denumeration of strange Princes, who imbrac'd the amity of that puissant Monarch. The Emperours of *Constantinople*, *Persia*, the Kings of *India* and *Gallicia*, with the Kings of *Scotland*. † *Favin.* l. 5. p. 8. The *Scots* joyfull of this Alliance, as the most famous in Christendom, delegated for their Ambassours, *William* Brother to their King *Achaius*, assisted with the counsel of four Persons, renown'd for Learning, *Clemens*, *Ioannes*, *Rabanus*, and *Alcuinus*, with 4000 Men of War sent to the succour of *Charle Maigne*. The two worthy Doctors, who stayed with *Charle Maigne* at *Paris*, and *Padua*, were *John* sirnamed *Scotus*, a *Scotish* man, both Nation and Sirname, and *Claudius Clemens*.

Theatre

Theatre of Honour, and * *Paulus Æmilius* in that King's Life. From which I raiſe three Arguments, Firſt, How can it be imagin'd, that if the *Scots* had not ſettl'd in a Colony, till the 503, that their King could have been ſo famous, that in about 280 years time, this ſmall Colony, which the *Biſhop of* St. *Aſaph* repreſents to have been but *pilfering barbarous Robbers*, would have become ſo famous, that *Charles the Great* then Emperour of all the Weſtern World, would have entred in a league with them? eſpecially ſince they had not for 100 years after their ſettlement done any memorable Action, † as the *Biſhop of* St. *Aſaph* alledges. 2. If our Kings and Nation had onely then *Dalrieda*, or the Kingdom of *Argile*, as the *Biſhop* contends; How could this Prince of *Argile* (which is, after all improvement but an Earldom) have been worthy, not onely of the Alliance of the great Emperour of the Weſt; but to ſend 4000 men? eſpecially having ſuch dangerous Enemies at Home, and being himſelf but a Stranger newly entred into a Foreign

* Paulus Æmilius *in vita* Caroli magni. *Cæterum ut paulatim extingueret* Saxonum *nomen, honores magiſtratúſque gentibus alienigenis in primis* Scotis *mandabat, quorum egregia fide virtutéque utebatur.*

† Pag. 34, & 38.

Foreign Iſland, and living in a ſmall part of the Iſle, with the *Picts* the more powerfulland ancient poſſeſſors. And that there were 4000. men ſent by virtue of that League, is clear, not onely from *Verimundus*, out of whoſe 2*d*. Book *Chambers* cites the whole League : but by *Sanſavin* an *Italian*, who writes the Hiſtory of the *Douglaſſij*, or *Scoti*, whom he derives from *William Douglaſs*, who was Lieutenant at that time to Prince *William*, Brother to *Achaius*. And which *Sanſavin* cites another, *viz*. *Umberto Locato*, more ancient than himſelf. And this is ſo far acknowledg'd by the *French Kings*, that upon it, we got very great privileges in *France*, and all the *Heralds* in *Europe* acknowledge, that the double *Treſſure*, was the Badge of that alliance.

9. How can it be conceiv'd, that the *Scots* could in ſo ſhort a time, after their ſettlement, have been able without any help, to extirpate the *Picts*, who muſt be preſum'd to have been very ſtrong, having been ſo long ſettl'd in this Iſle ; and having poſſeſt in effect all that we have now,

benorth

benorth *Forth*, except the Shire of *Argile*, if we believe the *Biſhop* of St. *Aſaph*.

Our Tradition is fortified, and the former Authorities cited by us, are clear'd, from the receiv'd Laws of our Nation; for firſt all our Hiſtories bear * that *after King* Fergus *death, the Nobility finding his Son too young, and the Wars in which they were engaged very dangerous; they declared, that the* Uncle *ſhould govern.* And which cuſtome continu'd, till it occaſion'd many bloody civil Wars, betwixt the *Uncles* and *Nephews*: and therefore * was juſtly abrogated by a Parliament holden by *Kenneth* the third, which *Kenneth* the 3*d.* reign'd Anno 970. And it were very ridiculous to think, that ſince theſe matters of fact are true, *viz.* That there were bloody civil Wars, betwixt the *Uncles* and the *Nephews*, and that all this hath been much debated in poſteriour Parliaments, betwixt ſuch as were for the Crown, and ſuch as were for popular Elections; without ever controverting the truth of the matter of fact; and long before we

* *Leſl.* pag. 80. *Buchan.* pag. 97.

* *Leſl.* pag. 188. *Buchan.* pag. 190.

we could have any apprehenſion of ſuch a debate as this, and ſo that all this was a meer fiction, calculated for maintaining an antiquity, which was never controverted.

It can as little be deny'd, that there were Laws relating to the *merchetæ mulierum:* ſince many of our old Charters relate to them, and diſcharges of them are incorporated in our Charters; and which Styles are a part of our old and traditional Law: theſe *merchetæ mulierum* were thereafter abrogated by King *Malcolm Canmor*'s Law, many hundred years before the ſtarting of this debate: And that there were ſuch Laws, is alſo acknowledged not onely by *Baker*, and others within the Iſle, but even by *Solinus* and *Jerome*, &c. * And that theſe Laws were made by *Evenus* 3*d*. who liv'd 12 years before *Chriſt*, is a part of the ſame Tradition; and ſo cannot but be believ'd ſince Laws are one of the probableſt means imaginable, for preſerving Tradition. By the Laws likewiſe of *Malcolm* the 2*d*. who reign'd in

* L. 2. Ad *Jovinianum* who ſeems to point at this, when he ſays, that *Scoti nullas proprias habent uxores.*
* *Solin.* cap. 28. *de* Britannia

the year 1004. The Frith of *Forth* is call'd *Mare Scotiæ*, or the Sea of *Scotland*, which demonſtrates, that before the year 1000. our Countrey was call'd *Scotia* or *Scotland*: and confirms and clears, all that is ſaid out of *Beda*; and as this deſignation of the *Scotiſh* Sea, is look'd upon there, as a thing very old and acknowledg'd; ſo it is continu'd in our Laws for many ages, as is evident by *K. J. 2d.* his Laws above cited.

I had reſolv'd not to mention the *Biſhop*'s objections, againſt our early converſion: but I find it ſo clear, that we were converted to the *Chriſtian Faith*, before the year 503. that there reſults this concluding Argument from it, to prove that we were ſettl'd before that time. For if we were a *Chriſtian* Nation converted here, before that time, it follows neceſſarily, that we were a Nation ſettl'd here, before that time: ſince a Nation is ſaid no where to be converted, but where it is ſettl'd, albeit ſome perſons of that Nation may be ſaid to be converted abroad. And that this part of the

the Iſle, which we now inhabite, and that people from which we are deſcended, were Chriſtians before that time; ſeems to me very evident, from the former teſtimony of *Tertullian*, who wrote in the end of the ſecond Century, to which I refer my Reader; And though *Tertullian* liv'd a little before King *Donald*, yet the anſwer is apparent, *viz.* that the Nations were ordinarily converted before the Kings or Magiſtrates: And it's indeed very probable that the *Chriſtians* who were perſecuted in the Southern Nations, would flee from their perſecutors the *Roman* Emperours: and where could they ſeek refuge ſo reaſonably, as in that Countrey, and amongſt that people, which had never ſubmitted to the *Roman* Empire? And it being acknowledg'd by the learn'd *Uſher*, and St. *Aſaph*, that *Britain* was converted in the firſt Century; it is very reaſonable to think that the *Chriſtians*, who had fled to this Iſle from the perſecution of the *Romans*, would have very probably ſhelter'd themſelves here, where the *Romans* had no power: for though it be not

prov'd, that the *Roman* perſecution reach'd to *Britain* ſo early, yet certainly they who fled ſo far from the perſecution, would not think themſelves very ſecure within the Dominions of the perſecutors, and would have ſecured themſelves by a few more Miles from ſo dreaded a danger. As alſo, it ſeems very improbable, that ſince the *Chriſtian* Religion ſpread from *Jeruſalem* to *Britain* in leſs than 100 years, that it would have taken above 300 years more, to reach ſo few Miles, as are betwixt the *Britiſh* part of the Iſle, and *Scotland*. It is alſo preſumable that the *Druids* having been ſo prepared to receive *Chriſtianity*, by their excellent principles of *Philoſophy*, and their ſeverity of life formerly mentioned, which did not contradict, but illuminate the *Chriſtian Doctrine*, they would have both been eaſie to be converted themſelves, and ready to have converted their former Diſciples, and the people who admir'd them. I might here cite many Authours: but I fix upon * *Beda*, who aſſerts poſitively, that *Palladius* was ſent in the 8*th* year of *Theodoſius*

* L. 3. chap. 13.

Theodoſius Junior, that is to ſay, in the 431. *ad Scotos in Chriſtum credentes*, by *Pope Cæleſtine*, as their firſt *Biſhop*: and that *Beda* wrote of us, as the *Scots*, is formerly prov'd; and this Miſſion of *Palladius* falling in the tract and ſeries of the actions aſcrib'd by *Beda* to us onely, it is inconſiſtent with common reaſon, that the things before and after, and the things related in the very Chapter, ſhould be onely applicable to us, and yet onely this ſhould not: albeit our own and foreign Hiſtories apply the ſame to us. As to foreign Hiſtories, I ſhall onely cite *Baronius*, who, becauſe he made *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory* more his task, than St. *Aſaph*, and was more diſintereſted, is therefore more to be believ'd as to this point.

This great *Antiquary* * tells, *that the* Scots *who had firſt receiv'd the* Chriſtian Faith *from* Pope Victor, *and the firſt* Biſhop *from* Pope Cæleſtine, *were become the chief of all* Chriſtians, *from being amongſt the*

* Tom. 5. edit. col. p. 586. & 589. num. 5. *Qui igitur Evangelium primo à* Victore *Pontifice maximo accepere, & à* Celeſtino Papa *primum* Epiſcopum, *& quo ſunt omnes penitus redditi Chriſtiani, eatenus Chriſti gratia profecere, qui olim gentilitio ritu viventes, ob ferinos mores, ut portentum oſtenſui erant humano generi præſtantiſſimi evenerint Chriſtiani, &c.*

moſt barbarous of all Nations; having formerly ſaid, * that *all conſent that* Palladius *was their firſt* Biſhop: and for which he cites *Proſper*, as he does *Tertullian*, *Jerome*, *Sedulius*, and others, for our being *Chriſtians* under Pope *Victor*, ſaying that † *they are not to refuted who aſſert our converſion under Pope* Victor: but is moſt poſitive as to *Palladius*. And whereas it is * pretended that *Proſper*'s words are not applicable to us, ſince he ſays, that *Palladius made the barbarous Iſland* Chriſtian, *and our* Scotland *is not an Iſland*.

* Num. 4.

† *Quia* Victore Romano Pontifice, Scotos *evangelium accepiſſe, naſorum traditione ſcripſere, haud ſunt refel-lendi.*

* Uſher *p.* 798. de prim.

To this it is anſwer'd, that our part of *Britain* was by *Tacitus*, and *Beda*, ſaid to be reduc'd into an Iſland, by the *Roman* Wall, from Sea to Sea: and † *Beda* in other places of his Hiſtory calls us therefore *Iſlanders*. *Baronius* alſo applyes this to us, and ſo this gloſs is to be preferr'd, to that extravagant gloſs or reading cited by the *Biſhop* of St. *Aſaph*, from the copy of the Manuſcript of *Nenius*, *Miſſus eſt* Palladius Epiſcopus, *primitus à* Cæleſtino *ad* Scotos *in Chriſtum convertendos*: for that not onely differs from *Beda*, the far more learn'd

† Lib. 1. cap. 12. *Tuſculani*, &c. Lib. 4. cap 26. *Eccl.*

learn'd, ancient and credible Author: but it is improbable to ſay, that a *Biſhop* was ſent to thoſe, which were to be converted: ſeeing converſion uſeth to be by *Presbyters*, and Miſſionars; and when the *Church* is gather'd, the *Biſhop* is ſent: and this gloſs contradicts not onely common ſenſe, but * *Ado Viennen*, and † *Marian*, who both uſe *Beda*'s own words, *Ad* Scotos *in* Chriſtum *credentes:* and what is ſaid of the converſion of the *Scots* and *Picts* by St. *Ninian*, *Palladius*, and *Columba* to make our converſion to be later, than *Tertullian* made it, *viz.* in the 2*d.* Century, muſt be interpreted of our fuller and ſounder converſion from *Paganiſm*, and *Pelagianiſm*; and of our being conform'd to the *Romiſh Church*, and *Rites*, which the Authors of theſe Times conſidered as the onely true converſion. But to make this our firſt converſion, were to contradict *Tertullian*, *Jerome*, and the learn'd *Baronius*, as well as all our Hiſtories. The * *Magdeburgian Centuries* do poſitively agree with *Baronius*, and our Hiſtory, in this our Antiquity:

* Stat. 6.

† Page 340.

* Edit. Baſil. 1624. 2d. Cent. p. 5.

and ſo having for us the greateſt *Eccleſiaſtick Antiquaries*, both *Proteſtant* and *Papiſt*, we need not condeſcend upon particular Authors: theſe being the Standards of *Eccleſiaſtick* Hiſtory to the Profeſſors of both Religions: and it is ſtrange after all this, that a Church-man ſhould ſo poſitively contradict, what the Antiquaries of both Churches have ſo poſitively aſſerted, though if there had been any thing wherein they could have contradicted one another, they would certainly have differ'd.

That *Donald* then was our firſt *Chriſtian King* in *anno* 203. and *Palladius* our firſt *Biſhop* in *anno* 431. ſeems moſt fully prov'd: for theſe being matters of Fact may be prov'd by Witneſſes; and who are better Witneſſes, than the many Hiſtorians of the Countrey, where the things were tranſacted; eſpecially ſince theſe were matters of great importance, and notoriety, which the Monaſteries, whoſe faith is follow'd by our Hiſtorian, could not but know beſt of all others; and in which, they durſt not cheat or forge, becauſe the Annals of other

other Churches would have contradicted them; whereas they are confirm'd by them, and theſe things fell out, when we had the help of Letters, and are agreeable to the ſound Reaſons above-related: though the converſion of a Kingdom be a matter, that could not be unknown, and no other King but *Donald* was ever recorded to have been the firſt *Chriſtian King* here.

That *Palladius* was ſent to the *Scots* in *Britain*, and not to the *Scots* in *Ireland*, appears farther from theſe undeniable matters of Fact? *viz*, That *Pope Cæleſtine* did ordain, and ſend *Palladius*, in anno 431: That the ſame *Pope Cæleſtine* ſent St. *Patrick* to *Ireland*: That St. *Patrick*'s Miſſion muſt have been before the *6th.* of *April* 432, is alſo clear, becauſe *Proſper* tells, that *Cæleſtine* died that year. And the *Roman Pontifical* tells, it was on the *6th.* of *April* that year. From all which, the *Biſhop* did ſee, that *Palladius*'s miſſion muſt have been to the *Scots* in *Scotland*; elſe *Palladius* had been firſt *Biſhop* of *Ireland*, and St. *Patrick* needed not have been ſent into *Ireland*,

land, ſince *Palladius* was ſent there, but the year before: To reconcile which real Contradictions St. *Aſaph* makes up a laborious *Hypotheſis*, and ſays that *Palladius* was indeed in *Ireland*, but finding he could not ſucceed, he was upon his return to *Rome*, but died in, or near the bounds of the *Picts*, the 15*th* of *December*, 431. So that St. *Patrick*, who liv'd in *Britain*, could not but have known his death, and had time enough to go to *Rome*, and be ordain'd *Biſhop* for *Ireland*, and go to that *Kingdom*, and there finiſh their Converſion, which *Palladius* had onely begun: and ſo St. *Patrick* was call'd the firſt *Biſhop*. All this *Hypotheſis* is almoſt impoſſible, though good *Palladius* had ſooner, and deeplier deſpair'd, than a *Saint* ſhould have done, eſpecially in the Converſion of a whole Nation: and though both had poſted faſter for a Benefice, than *Holy-Church men* did in thoſe primitive times. Yet all this is founded upon *Palladius*'s having died the 15*th* of *December* 431. And the onely proof adduc'd for this by St. *Aſaph*,

is

is *Baleus de* 14. *ſcrip.* 6. near the end, and yet in that ſame citation it is poſitively ſaid, that *Palladius* was ſent to *Scotland*, and the particular *Scotiſh King* is nam'd; and *Baleus* adds, that *Palladius claruit anno virginei partus* 434; *he flouriſhed in the year* 434. and ſo he died not in the 431, And not content with this *Baleus* goes on, telling that *poſt multos pios tandem ſudores & religioſa exercitia in* Fordono *vico* Mernæ *fælicem hujus vitæ ſortitus eſt exitum.* Which is in our *Scotland*, and in the North part thereof, very far out of the Road from *Ireland* to *Rome*; and where we have St. *Padies Church* and *Fair*; and with us he is nam'd our firſt *Biſhop* to this day: but was never nam'd an *Iriſh Biſhop*, untill St. *Aſaph* made him by a ſtrange word firſt, *in omination of ſucceſs*, as he ſays, though not he, but St. *Patrick* had this ſucceſs. If then he died not ſo ſoon, and if the time of his death is not prov'd, why might he not have Baptiz'd *Tarvanus?* And why ſhould our *Boethius* be *Hector'd* for ſaying that *Palladius* Baptiz'd *Tarvan?* Yet I impute not this

this to St. *Aſaph*'s miſtake, or ignorance; but it is an elaborate contrivance to divert all the unanſwerable Authorities, proving that *Palladius* was ſent to us in *Scotland*, in the year 431. and ſo before the year 503. in which St. *Aſaph* ſays we ſettled firſt in *Britain*. I ſhall conclude this concerning *Palladius* with the ſuffrage of Dr. *Hammond*, a learn'd and *Epiſcopal Engliſh Divine*, * who in his *vindication of the diſſertations concerning Epiſcopacy*, reconciling the ſeeming differences between *Beda*, who aſſerts, that *Palladius was ſent to the* Scots *believing in* Chriſt: And *Proſper*, who ſpeaking of the ſame Miſſion, ſays, that *Palladius made alſo the Barbarous Iſland* Chriſtian; lays down theſe three Concluſions, 1. That *Chriſtianity* was planted in *Scotland*, before *Cæleſtine*'s time, deriv'd to them moſt probably from their Neighbour *Britons* here, with whom they are known to have agreed in the keeping of *Eaſter*, contrary to the cuſtome of the *Roman Church*, as * *Beda* ſays. 2. That this Plantation was very imperfect, differing little from *Barbariſm*,

* P. 162.

* Lib. 3.

riſm, and ſo repute by *Proſper*, till the coming of *Biſhop Palladius* among them. 3. That even after that, they retain'd the uſage of *Eaſter*, contrary to the *Roman* cuſtome, which ſtill refers to ſome rude converſion of theirs before *Palladius*; and ſo it is evident, that in the learn'd *Doctor*'s opinion, the *Scotland* to which *Palladius* was ſent, was ours; and that we were *Chriſtians* before his coming, though rude and barbarous. The *Biſhop of* St. *Aſaph* having thus Spirited from us, into *Ireland*, *Palladius* our firſt *Biſhop*, he proceeds to tranſlate *Amphibolus* our firſt Church-man upon record, unto a *Shag-Cloak*, deſigning likewiſe thereby, to prove, that *Boethius* our Hiſtorian is not to be credited, becauſe he follow'd their fabulous *Jeffrey*: who finding that St. *Alban* had, to ſave his pious *Gueſt*, taken the holy Man's habit, to the end he might be Martyr'd for him; and as *Beda* expreſſes it, *Caracalla ejus indutus*, *Jeffrey* concludes, as St. *Aſaph* alledges, that the Veſtiment was *Amphibolus*; and *Jeffrey* having made the *Cloak* a Man, *Boethius* made him a *Biſhop*

a *Biſhop* of the *Iſle of Man*: and ſo *this Cloak* was fitly ordain'd to be a proper *Biſhop* for that *Chapter* of the *Culdees*: But this is *ludere in ſacris*, and to expoſe *Epiſcopacy* it ſelf upon the Stage. In anſwer to which, I ſhall onely offer, theſe few thoughts, firſt, what intereſt had *Jeffrey* (who was a *Briton*) to oblige the *Scots*, or the Iſle of *Man*, in making ſo horrid a lie? 2. It is againſt ſenſe, to think that any man, much leſs a Scholar, could have been ſo groſs, as to take a *Shag-Cloak* for a *Biſhop*. 3. If the *Shag-Cloak* had been miſtaken for the name of a man, he ſhould have been call'd *Caracalla*, and not *Amphibolus*; for the *Legend* being written in *Latin*, *Jeffrey* had certainly choſen the word, *Caracalla*, becauſe that was the Latin word, and was the word uſed by *Beda*, and becauſe there was a *Roman Emperour* truly of that name, before *Beda* and *Jeffrey*'s time. 4. *Beda* relating to that paſſage tells us, that in the *Dioclefian* Perſecution, St. *Alban*, *Aron*, *Julius*, and many others ſuffer'd: And why might not *Amphibolus* be one of theſe many that ſuffer'd? And why

why ought *Boethius* to have been tax'd, for mentioning *Amphibolus*, ſince this was done long before him, by a multitude of *Engliſh* Writers, cited by *Biſhop Uſher*, who deriv'd his birth from *Greece*, and deſcribes the particular actions of his life, and his Martyrdom; with which alſo the modern *Engliſh* Writers agree. as * *Baleus*, *Holinſhed*, *Speed*, all which *Engliſh*, and thouſands of other Teſtimonies do far weigh down *Uſher*'s conjectures, that *Amphibolus* was not a man, but a Veſtiment, from the ſilence of *Gildas*, *Beda*, the *Martyrologies*, and *Breviaries* of *Salisbury*, and *Jeffrey* who do not mention him: for *Gildas* could not mention him, writing concerning the Conqueſt, and deſtruction of *Britain*; *Beda* tells the Paſſage relative to St. *Alban*, and albeit he names him not in the *Dioclefian Perſecution*, yet he tells that many more ſuffer'd than the three he names. We have not ſeen the *Martyrologies*, and *Breviaries*, nor does it import whether they mention him or not; and it is not ſo much to be wondered at, that

* Pag. 28, & 58.

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ſome *Engliſh* Writers do not mention him, as that he is mention'd by ſo many; ſeeing he was a *Greek* and a *Biſhop* in the remote Iſles of *Britain*, and in all likelihood would have been buried under ſilence, had it not been for that Paſſage with St. *Alban*.

My laſt Argument for confirming our Hiſtory, ſhall be, that the beſt *Criticks*, *Hiſtorians* and *Antiquaries* of other Nations, who had occaſion to mention our Hiſtories, and particularly the great *Baronius*, *Scaliger*, *Salmaſius*, *Lipſius*, *Carolus Sigonius*, *Favinus*, and others of the firſt Rank, (too many to be nam'd) have paſſionately defended our Antiquity, and not onely ſuſtain'd but prais'd our Hiſtories: and ſo the Arguments and Grounds whereupon I have proceeded, are already aſſerted by the beſt Judges, and that too after *Luddus* publiſh'd his objections againſt the ſame, and almoſt the very ſame objections, which are now urg'd; and which are treated with great contempt by *Scaliger*. * Since then there is nothing now urg'd, that could have eſcaped

* Pag. in Euſeb.

eſcap'd the obſervation of theſe learn'd, and curious Authors, who could not but have diſcover'd, as ſoon as St. *Aſaph*, that our Hiſtorians did not mention any Warrands, which were written in the time, or did contradict the *Roman* Hiſtory or one another: I admire why now theſe our Hiſtories ſhould be controverted. And though ſomething might be pretended, if St. *Aſaph* did in this Book, produce Manuſcripts unknown to theſe learn'd *Critiques*, yet could they have been ſo blind and ignorant (eſpecially in that ſubtile and laborious Age, wherein all men were by a noble emulation contending, who ſhould diſcover moſt) as not to have ſeen defects? which if they had been real, they had been obvious. It is alſo very remarkable, that ſince all Nations are emulous of one another in matters of Antiquity; yet they, by ceding to ours, have thereby acknowledg'd, that ours was beyond all debate; and to this day, none controvert it, (notwithſtanding of all the pains taken by *Luddus*, *Cambden*, and *Uſher*) farther than to

gratify their own Countrey. And therefore, as *Cicero* argues, that the *Romans* were the braveſt, becauſe every Nation commended them next to their own: I may contend, that we are the moſt ancient, becauſe every Nation confeſſes us to be next to themſelves in Antiquity. As ſome few inſtances, I ſhall onely cite, *Saxo Gram. Swaningius*, *Albertus Krantzius*, who own our Name and Nation to have been before Chriſt, though after the *Danes*. *Mezeray* ſhortly after *Pharamond*: and St. *Aſaph* himſelf who brings us in but 50 years after the *Engliſh*.

Since it is probable that the *Biſhop* of St. *Aſaph*, and I will not agree well in the deciſion of this Debate; were it not juſt that we ſhould both reſt in the deciſion of learn'd Strangers, who underſtood Antiquities exactly, theſe being the ſubject matter of our Controverſie, and where can we find more qualified Judges than thoſe great Antiquaries whom I have named? But yet to ſhew how much I truſt to the ſtrength of that truth which I aſſert, I dare appeal to *Selden*, that Engliſhman, who was ſo affectio-

affectionate to his Countrey, and that Antiquary who underſtood beſt of all Mankind the Antiquities of his own Nation, and even to him alſo in his *Mare Clauſum*, written or the Defence and Glory of his Countrey: who *lib.* 2. *cap.* 8. *Maris clauſi*, has theſe words, ſpeaking of thoſe famous lines in *Claudian* to the praiſe of *Stilicho*,

Inde Caledonio *velata* Britannia *monſtro*
----*Totam cum* Scotus Iernam *Movit & infeſto ſpumavit remige Tethys.*

'As the *Palmes* and the River *Tagus* 'were peculiar to *Spain*, as the Ears 'of Corn and Ivory to *Africa*; ſo he 'would have it underſtood, that the 'Province of *Britain* had the Sea of 'the ſame name peculiar thereto. But 'yet it is to be conceiv'd, that the 'Dominion of the *Romans* was ſo li-'mited in this Sea, according to their 'poſſeſſion of the Shoar, that they had 'little power in that part of the *Bri-'tiſh* Sea, which bordered upon the 'Shoars of thoſe *Britiſh* Nations who 'were not under their obedience. 'This is to be taken chiefly of the *Iriſh* 'Sea, and the reſt that lyes North-

'West; for when the *Roman* Empire 'began to decline, not onely in *Ire-* 'land, but in the *Isle of Man* also, and 'the other Isles of the Western Sea, 'and a great portion of the more Nor- 'therly part of *Britain*, was possess'd 'by the *Scots* and *Picts*, so that we 'have sufficient ground to conceive, 'that they also had an ancient Domi- 'nion of their own in the neighbour- ing Sea.

From which Passage I argue thus, 1. That *Selden* consider'd the *Scots* and *Picts* as Nations, not subject to the Romans, *Gentes iis* (viz. *Romanis*) *minime subjacentes*, *no manner of way subject to the* Romans, and looks on us, as the most considerable of these two Nations, for the words run, *à Scotis tenebatur Pictisque*; and very justly, for we were able to defend them while they were just to us, and to extirpate them when they became enemies. 2. This great Antiquary asserts that the *Scots* and *Picts* possest in *Stilicho*'s time, who was Guardian to *Honorius*, and so liv'd about *anno* 400. a great portion of the Northern part of *Britain*, as well as the Isle of *Man* and

and the reſt of the Weſtern Iſles; and conſequently if we *poſſeſt them then*, it cannot be ſaid that we were onely here by way of incurſion, till the year 500. or were confin'd to *Argile*, till after the year 500. as St. *Aſaph* contends. 3. That we were not onely poſſeſt then, but that we had *avitum Dominium*, *ancient Dominion*, and had right *priſco jure*, and nothing is ſo inconſiſtent with the being Proprietars, as to be Robbers, coming onely by way of incurſion, and if we had the Dominion of our Seas, *jure priſco*, and *per Dominium avitum*: And were ancient poſſeſſors before the year 400. We muſt have been not onely far older than the year 500. but have even been *priſci incolæ*, as *Beda* [*l.* 1.*c.*1.] ſays, before the *Romans* entred this Iſle, and ſo before CHRIST.

Selden alſo in the tranſition from that 2*d.* to the 3*d.* Chapter tells, after that he had ſpoke of the *Scots* Dominion of their own Sea, that he will treat of the ſucceeding Ages, and ſo proceeds to the *Saxons*, which demonſtrates, that we were ſettled here before the *Saxons*, though St.

Aſaph make their ſettlement here more ancient than ours. And in this *Beda* agrees with *Selden*, but both contradict St. *Aſaph*. And laſtly, this paſſage clears, that the teſtimonies not onely of *Claudian* concerning *Ierna*, but even of *Tertullian*, when ſpeaking of the Inhabitants of *Britain* not conquer'd by the *Romans*, and of *Jerome* ſpeaking of *Britannick* Nations, are onely applicable to us, and not to the *Iriſh*: And therefore I hope St. *Aſaph* will not take it ill, if we in a matter of Antiquity prefer an impartial Antiquary, to an intereſted Divine, as I would not be offended, if the *Biſhop* of St. *Aſaph* were prefer'd to me, in a Theological Controverſie.

SECT. 7. Anſwers to the Biſhop's Objections.

The firſt general Objection againſt our Hiſtories, is, that they were not written by thoſe, who liv'd in the time, but more than 1400 years after the things happened, of which they wrote. And it were ſtrange, that if *Gildas*, who liv'd 500 years before the eldeſt of them, could find no ſufficient inſtructions, ſave from Foreigners, that our Hiſtorians ſhould have

have found ſufficient warrands, for a Hiſtory after ſo long a time.

To which my anſwer is, that our Hiſtories giving onely an account of one Nation, it was eaſier to find the true and ſincere Tradition as to us, than it was in other Nations where the Conquerors were not concern'd to preſerve the Traditions and Records: and though I have made it very probable, that this Iſle had the uſe of Letters before, or at leaſt ſoon after we ſettl'd in it, and ſo might have preſerv'd the Story. Yet albeit our Hiſtory were onely founded on Tradition, untill about 600 years after *Chriſt*, before which the Monaſtery of *Jona* or *Icolm-kill* was founded, that Tradition might have been ſufficiently preſerv'd, for ſo few Generations, by the means and methods that I have formerly condeſcended upon. Nor can I ſee, how the Origin of a Nation could not have been preſerv'd by thoſe who were of it, or how, being eſtabliſhed it could have evaniſhed when People became more polite and curious. And after the year 600 I have prov'd, that our Hiſtorians might have been, and were ſufficiently war-

ranted in what they have ſaid, by old Manuſcripts, and Records: nor is there any thing urg'd in this objection againſt us, but what m ght as unanſwerably be urg'd againſt the *Greek* and *Latin* Hiſtorians. A receiv'd Hiſtory cannot be overturn'd, from what I have formerly repreſented, without Arguments, which neceſſarily conclude that the Hiſtory impugn'd muſt be falſe; which cannot be alledg'd here, where the warrands of the Hiſtory controverted not onely might have been, but probably were true; and are ſo far from contradicting other Hiſtories, that they are confirm'd by them.

I deſire alſo to know, what old Manuſcripts and Records *Luddus*, the *Antiquary* ſo far prefer'd to ours, had for proving, that much elder Succeſſion of Hiſtory from *Brutus* to his own time: And whereas St. *Aſaph* ſays, that *Buchanan* ſhould not have tax'd *Luddus* for deriving the *Britons* from *Brutus*, ſince he own'd a Succeſſion of our Kings from *Fergus*, there being as few Documents to ſupport the one, as the other.

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To this my Anſwer is, that there have been very ſolid grounds brought for ſuſtaining the one, which cannot be alledg'd for the other, and ours are adminiculated by the *Roman* Hiſtory, whereas theirs is inconſiſtent with it: for it is palpably inconſiſtent with the *Roman* Hiſtory to ſay, that *Brutus* was the Son of *Aſcanius* whom he kill'd, for which being baniſh'd from *Italy*, he came over to *Britain*: and that *Britain* was govern'd by *Conſuls*: which ſhould rather be laugh'd at, than confuted.

The *Biſhop* is moſt unjuſt to us, in aſſerting, that we have no Authour of our own before *Fordon*; and that no Authour mentions our Antiquity, but ſuch as have follow'd *Fordon*, who wrote about 300 years ago. For *Fordon* cites his vouchers, many of which are extant, and thoſe who are loſt are approv'd to have been extant: Within the Iſle we could have no Authours till there were Writers, and *Gildas* and *Beda* the eldeſt in the Iſle prove our Antiquity. Without the Iſle none could know us, being ſo remote, but either

ther by the Wars they had with us, or the *Chriſtianity* that was common to them and us. As to our Wars, all the *Roman* Authours above-related ſpeak of us; *Oroſius* about the year 417. *Claudian* 397. *Ammianus* before the year 360. *Beda* and *Eumenius* ſpeak of us, as before *Julius Cæſar*, as hath been prov'd. All which we have collaterally ſupported, by a gradation of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtorians abroad, and all our own Hiſtorians at home. *Beda* brings us to *Reutherus*, who was the *6th.* King from *Fergus* the firſt: and he living within 150 years of *Fergus*, this ſhort ſtep may be truſted to Tradition, though we had wanted the help of the *Druids*, and *Phœnician* Letters: For a Father might have inform'd his Son of ſo near a time, nor was this worthy of a fiction. And I may modeſtly ſay of the foregoing citations from foreign Authours, that if they be not ſtrong enough to overturn the *Biſhop*'s Hypotheſis, yet they are at leaſt as ſtrong, as thoſe adduc'd by *Joſephus* in defence of the *Jewiſh* Hiſtory; and yet all the learn'd World has acquieſc'd in them.

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Nor is there any thing to be concluded from the ſilence of *Adamnanus*, and *Marianus* the eldeſt of our Hiſtorians: though, as the *Biſhop* alledges, they had certainly mention'd our antiquity, if they had known it. For *Adamnanus* wrote no Hiſtory ſave of *Columba*; and *Marianus* going to *Germany*, when he was very young, could know little of us, and mentions onely the three Kings of *Scotland*, in whoſe time he liv'd: and ſo if this Argument prov'd any thing, it would prove too much. For certainly we had Kings before thoſe three, whom he mentions, and theſe negative Arguments are of no moment in matters of Hiſtory, and are juſtly reprobated by the learned *Scaliger*, in his Notes on *Euſebius*, and by **Voſſius*.

* De hiſt. Latin. p. 4.

The ſecond Objection is, That our Hiſtorians contradict one another concerning the Origin of the *Picts*, which ought to leſſen their credit. But to this it is anſwered, that our Hiſtorians were not concern'd to conſider the Origin of the *Picts*, as they were to conſider their own

own. And this Objection ſubſumes not what is true in matter of Fact. For our Hiſtorians generally agree in the Origin of the *Picts*, whom all of them make to be *Schythians*: and though *Fordon* relates three different accouts of them, yet he does not ſettle upon any thing that is different from our other Hiſtorians * as is fully to be ſeen.

* Cap. 30. & 37. l. 1.

The third Objection is, that our Hiſtorians are contradicted by our own Anteceſſours; for our Hiſtorians aſſert that King *Donald* the firſt was our firſt *Chriſtian King*; whereas in our Apology againſt *Edward* the firſt of *England* about the year 1300, we aſſert the Tradition of a wonderfull Victory obtain'd by our King *Hungus*, againſt the *Saxons*, by the *Relicts* of St. *Andrew* the *Apoſtle*, by virtue whereof the *Scots* firſt receiv'd the Faith of *Chriſt*.

To which it is ſhortly anſwer'd, that every contradiction does not overturn the truth of a whole Hiſtory; otherwiſe we need not be troubl'd to give any other anſwer to the *Biſhop*'s own Book: nor is this pretended to be a contradiction amongſt

mongſt our Hiſtorians, for they all agree, that King *Donald* was our firſt *Chriſtian King*; but in that Apology, which is alledg'd to contradict our Hiſtories, our Predeceſſours deſign'd, as moſt Pleaders do (and this Eloquent Authour does in his Book) to gain their point at any rate. For underſtanding whereof, it is fit to know, that King *Edward* the firſt, having upon the Competition betwixt *Bruce* and *Baliol*, interpos'd with deſign to make himſelf *Lord Paramount* of *Scotland*; he caus'd his *Parliament* write to the *Pope*, to whom afterwards he wrote himſelf; in which Letter of his, it is pretended, that we were Vaſſals to *England*, as deſcended from *Albanactus* the ſecond Son to *Brutus*. 2. Becauſe ſeveral of our Kings had become Vaſſals to his Predeceſſours, in the times of the *Britiſh*, *Saxon* and *Norman* Kings. To which we anſwer in our Apology, that without debating, whether the firſt Inhabitants of the Iſle were deſcended from *Albanactus*, or his *Albanians*, it is aſſerted, that we came from *Spain* by *Ireland*, and conquer'd the

the first Inhabitants (for which we cite * *Beda*) and so, though they had been Vassals, we were free; not being lyable to the conditions of the People we conquer'd; and as such, fought constantly against the *Britons*, who were forc'd to build *Severus's Wall* against us. And as to any homage made by our Kings, it was either for the three Northern *Counties* of *Cumberland*, *Westmorland*, and *Northumberland*, confirm'd to us by the *Britons*, to defend them against the *Saxons*; and thereafter again * confirm'd by both *Saxons* and *Britons* to assist them against the *Danes*. Or was extorted by force, from one or two young Captive Kings; upon which heads the *Popes* had declar'd us free: which *Bulls*, *Edward* himself had robb'd unjustly out of our Treasure, with other Records, which he could not deny: but to cajole the *Pope* their Judge, they insinuate, that though they were not Tributaries to his *Holiness*, as *England* was; yet they ought to be protected by the *Pope*, because they had been converted by St. *Andrew* his Predecessour's

* *Bed.* Eccl. Hist. *lib.* 1. *c.* 1.

St. *Asaph* p. 45.

ſour's Brother-german: St. *Andrew* having in *Hungus*'s reign obtain'd for them a victory over the *Saxons*; and ſo became ſubject, and ſub-ſervient to the *Pope*, in having converted the *Saxons* by *Aidan*, *Finan* and *Colman*. From this matter of fact, I obſerve, 1. That we own'd the ſame origination there, that our Hiſtorians do to this day: and ſo our Anteceſtors differ'd not from our Hiſtorians, much leſs are they irreconcileable, as St. *Aſaph* alledges. 2. That the *Engliſh* acknowledg'd us to be as ancient as the *Britons*, they and we being deſcended from two Brothers. 3. That what we ſaid of St. *Andrew*, muſt needs be upon deſign, to have oblig'd the *Pope*, meaning certainly, either that we were then firſt effectually converted to the Church of *Rome*, from the Oriental Obſervations, in which we were very long, very obſtinate, and that *Rome* conſider'd that, as the true Converſion; or that after that time, we firſt became ſubject, though not feudatary to the *Pope*, as theſe forecited words ſubjoyn'd, do inſinuate. But that our converſion from *Paganiſm*,

niſm, was more than 400 years, before the *Saxons*; is poſitively aſſerted in that ſame Apology. Nor can this have another meaning, for it is undeniable, that we were *Chriſtians*, long before the reign of *Hungus*, who reign'd 800 years after *Chriſt*: and *Colman*, &c. liv'd long before that King. Nor was *Hungus* our King, we being onely auxiliaries to him then, as King of the *Picts*: after which Apology King *Robert* the *1ſt.* being crown'd, and having defeated King *Edward* at *Banock-burn*, where he gain'd a moſt ſignal victory over the *Engliſh*, they then being low, made application to the *Pope*, and he having diſcharg'd us, by a formal Interdiction, to purſue the victory into *England*; the *Nobility*, to pacifie that *Pope*, and to remove the Interdiction, at the deſire of the King, wrote a Letter, wherein they own the antiquity of our Nation, and Religion, and *Royal-Line*, mentioning when we came from *Spain*, as our Hiſtorians do, with whom they agree exactly, *ut ex antiquorum geſtis, & libris collegimus*, ſays the *Letter*: which being prior

to

to *Fordon*, proves that all this was not *Fordon's* dream, and that our Hiſtory is well founded on old Records, prior to *Fordon*. And laſtly it appears, that our Kings were not *Vaſſals* to *England* for their Crown, but onely for theſe Provinces, as * St. *Aſaph* confeſſes, and as I have prov'd in my *Treatiſe of Precedency*; albeit our independency was as much controverted of old, as our antiquity is now: and I hope that the one will ſhortly appear as unjuſt a pretence, as the other is already confeſt to be. From this it appears that there is rather a harmony than real contradiction here, and that any ſeeming contradiction is far leſs, than the real ones, betwixt *Beda*, and the *Biſhop* of St. *Aſaph*, and the following contradictions wherein he differs from himſelf. For clearing whereof obſerve, That the *Biſhop* ſays* he queſtions not the truth of any thing that is ſaid to have been within 800 nay within 1400 years; but ſo it is, that this would bring us to be ſetl'd here, before the year 300 after *Chriſt*: for ſubtract 1400 out of 1684, (which is the year, in which

* p. 46.

* p. 8.

the *Biſhop* Prints his Book) his *Lordſhip* can controvert nothing except what was done within 284 years after *Chriſt*: And yet he decrys our Hiſtorians, for ſaying, that we were ſettl'd here before the year 503; and denies our being *Chriſtians* for many years after the year 300; and to improve this learn'd *Biſhop*'s juſt conceſſion, I muſt remark, that all our Hiſtorians agree, that *Gregory* the *great King* of *Scotland*, who died *Anno* 892 added *Northumberland* to the *Merſe*, and having defeated the *Britons* at *Lochmaben*, he forc'd them to renew their ancient League, and to confirm to him the former Right, his Predeceſſours got from them to *Cumberland*, and *Weſtmorland*, for aſſiſting them againſt the *Picts* and *Saxons*; which ſhews alſo, what great things we could do, not onely alone without, but even againſt the *Picts*. All which being ſaid by our Hiſtorians, not onely within the 1400 years, but the 800 are not contravertible by the *Biſhop*'s conceſſion: and therefore I underſtand not why

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he asserts * that we had nothing but the Kingdom of *Argile* before the beating and extirpating of the *Picts*, who gave us their possession beyond *Drumalbain*. Nor can I reconcile, how the *Bishop* asserts all alongst, and particularly, * that the *Picts* had nothing besouth *Grahams-dyke*, or the *Frith* of *Forth* and *Clyde*: and yet he confesses * that amongst the *South Picts*, there was a Monastery of St. *Martin* at *Whit-horn* founded by St. *Ninian*, in honour of that Saint; and *Whit-horn* is in *Galloway*, in the furthest south point of our *Scotland*, near 80 miles besouth *Forth*; and himself also confesses * *Whit-horn* to be in *Galloway*.

* P. 42.

* *Cap.* 1. Paragraph 2, 3, and 17.

* P. 156.

* P. 83.

The fourth Objection being, that our Historians have followed *Jeffrey* of *Munmoth*, in many ridiculous inventions, which were purely his own; and particularly in the History of *Bassianus*, who being *Emperour*, is by him pretended to have been kill'd in *Britain*, by *Fulgentius*, which, though *Buchanan* does not exactly follow, yet he still makes *Bassianus* to have been a *Roman Lieutenant*, and to have been kill'd

in *Britain*, whereas it appears not from any *Roman* Authours, that there was any *Roman Lieutenant* here. To this it is anſwered, that no man comparing our Hiſtories with *Jeffrey* of *Monmouth*, can think ſo: for we bring not our Nation from *Brutus*, as he does againſt common ſenſe; and though *Jeffrey* tells a ſtory of *Baſſianus* the *Emperour* being kill'd in *Britain*, which contradicts the *Roman* Story: yet *Fordon* does expreſly ſay * *it was not that* Baſſianus *who was* Emperour, but a *Captain* ſent here: and ſo does not follow, but contradict *Jeffrey*. And *Buchannan*, to ſhew that he does not follow him (and he underſtood too well the *Roman* Story to do ſo) onely relates that there was a *Baſſianus* kill'd, which no *Roman* Hiſtory contradicts; and which is not to be preſum'd *Buchanan* would have made, ſince there is nothing in it for the advantage of his Nation: and as it is probable, the *Emperour* would not have ſuffer'd *Caruaſius* to make ſuch great preparations, without ſending a conſiderable *Captain*; eſpecially ſince *Eutropius* tells, that after many

* *Non utique ille* Baſſianus, Caracalla, *qui tranſactis non paucis annis,* Severo *patri ſucceſſit, ſed alius jam tunc propter militiæ famam imperare electus. Scot. chro. l.* 2. *cap.* 45.

many Wars attempted with *Carauſius*; he at laſt concluded, to ſend a *Captain* againſt him, without naming who that *Captain* was. It were a hard thing therefore to conclude ſo great Authours were forgers, becauſe they condeſcend not upon an Authour for every indifferent circumſtance; and the * *Notitia Imperii* is ſo far from having taken notice of every *Lieutenant* in a *Legion*, that I can prove by many Texts of the Civil Law, that even *Conſuls* themſelves have been forgot, when they were onely choſen to ſucceed to thoſe, who died during their *Conſulſhip*.

* *Vid.* Inſtit. ad Senatuſ. Con. Trebell.

But the great Objection uſed by the Biſhop, againſt our Antiquity, lyes in the 4th. §. of the Biſhops firſt Chapter, wherein he aſſerts, *That* Ireland *was peopled by the* Scots, *and was the onely* Scotland, *before theſe times*, *viz.* before the year 503: And in the 5th. §. *That there were no* Scots *in* Britain *before the ſaid year* 300: And in the 6th. and 8th. §. *That the* Scots *betwixt the* 300, *and* 500 *years were indeed here, but not ſetled, and onely by way of incurſion*: And in the 9th. §. he aſſerts, *That*

about the year 500 *they firſt ſettled here, and erected the Kingdom of* Argile: And in the 12th. and 13th. §. he aſſerts, *That after the year* 900, *we got the reſt of the Countrey, and then onely it came to be called* Scotland.

For clearing all theſe miſtakes without partiality or humour, I ſhall ſum up my Anſwers, in theſe diſtinct Propoſitions.

Firſt, it is undeniable in it ſelf, and acknowledged by our Adverſaries, that the firſt ſpecial names, under which *Ireland* was known, were *Jerna* among the * *Greeks*; and *Hibernia* among the *Latins*: both of which are, as I ſaid, acknowledg'd by † Biſhop *Uſher* himſelf.

* *Ptolom. Greg.* lib. 2. cap. 2.

My ſecond Poſition is, that before the year 300, there is no Foreign Authour produced by either Nation, that mentions *Scotia*, *Scoti*, or *Scoticæ gentes*, except *Seneca* who mentions the *Scoto-brigantes*: and *Florus* the *Scoticæ pruinæ*: and *Hegeſippus* who mentions *Scotia*: and *Porphyry* who mentions *Scoticæ gentes*. And though I have prov'd formerly all theſe Authours and Paſſages to be genuine, and applicable to us

† Pag. 722, 723, and particularly 724. *Hanc inſulam* Britanniidem *olim à* Iulio Cæſare *vocatam*, Fabius Ethelwardus *haud rectè retulit: non alio enim quam* Hiberniæ *nomine à* Cæſare, *uti poſt eum à* Plinio, Solino, *&* Tacito *illam invenimus.*

us alone: yet, *though they were onely ſpurious Authours, or the conjectural readings of new Criticks,* *as *Uſher* (whom St. *Aſaph* follows) alledges, *Porphyry* onely excepted, whoſe teſtimony is admitted by him to be in the third Century; It clearly follows, that St. *Aſaph* has without ſufficient warrand aſſerted in the forementioned place, that *Ireland* was called *Scotland* before the year 300: he admitting no Authour for this, ſave *Porphyry*, whoſe Book he acknowledges not to be extant, but to be onely cited by *Jerome*, who lived long after the year 300.

* Pag. 725, 726, 727. 728.
† Cap. 1. ſect. 4.

3. My chief deſign in this Book is not to debate the Antiquity of the names of *Scotia*, or *Scoti*; but onely when we firſt ſettled under Kings in this Iſle: and conſequently though *Uſher* and St. *Aſaph* could prove, that the word *Scotia*, and *Scoti*, were not known the firſt 300 years, except in *Porphyry*; yet that cannot prove that we were not ſettled here before that time. For it is undeniable, that many Nations have had peculiar names, before theſe names can be found in Hiſtory, as *Scaliger*

very well proves: and they could not be known in Hiſtories, till other Nations had commerce with them, and wrote of them, which was a thing very accidental. And Foreigners do oft-times deſign nations by Appellatives, which they themſelves invent: and it is aſſerted by *Uſher*, that the *Scots* inhabited *Ireland*, long before the year 300, though till then he cannot give an Authour for that word. And who can deny that the *Picts* liv'd long here before *Eumenius*, who firſt mention'd them, and liv'd long after *Porphyry* who mentions the *Scots*? And it is very obſervable that to this day neither the *Iriſh* nor *We* are called *Scots* in the true *Iriſh* Language: for they call their own Countrey-men *Erenach*, from the word *Jerna*, or *Ibernia*, and *Us Albanach* from *Albion*, and *Albania*: which alſo clears that we got that name long before *Julius Cæſar's* time; ſince before that time, the word *Albion* was run into deſuetude, and was ſucceeded to by the more known name of *Britannia*: And theſe Originations are the more confirm'd, that to this day the ſame *Iriſh*,

Iriſh, and our *High-landers* know no other names to the *Engliſh*, ſave *Saſſanach*, becauſe of *Saxony*, from which they came: as they call'd us *Albanach* (to diſtinguiſh us from themſelves) from the Countrey to which *we* came: Which may give us likewiſe a hint, how by names, without Hiſtories, moſt ancient Monuments of Antiquity may be preſerv'd: And it is fully prov'd before that time, we were known in this Countrey, under the names of * *Dalreudini*, and † *Caledonii*.

* Beda lib. 1. c. 1.
† Tacit. in vita Agricol.

4. All thoſe uncontroverted Teſtimonies, that make firſt mention of the *Scots*, and of *Scotland*, are onely applicable to us: ſuch as *Claudian*, *Pacatius*, *Ammianus*, &c. as has formerly been fully prov'd. And ſince *Hegeſippus* is the firſt Author, produc'd by St. *Aſaph*, who mentions *Scotia*; and that it has been formerly prov'd that theſe paſſages relate to *us*, and not to *Ireland*, it follows clearly, that the name *Scotia* was given to *us*, before it was given to *Ireland*, or that the *Iriſh* were call'd *Scoti*; Albeit it were admitted that the works aſcribed to *Hegeſippus* were

were really St. *Ambroſe*'s, who flouriſhed before the year 400.

5. Though it be true, and acknowledg'd on all hands, that *Ireland* was inhabited by the Nation of the *Scots*, as is written by *Oroſius* in the year 417, and that it be true that our Colony came from *Ireland*, as *Beda* and our Hiſtorians commonly aſſert, and that thence it may be ſaid, that *Hibernia eſt propria* Scotorum *Patria:* It will not follow that either *we*, or the *Iriſh* were call'd *Scots* before that time; or that becauſe *we* have deriv'd our Colony from the *Iriſh*, that therefore *we* have deriv'd the name of *Scoti* from them. But on the contrary, ſuppoſing with *Uſher*, that the *Nomen Scoticum* had been firſt given in the third Century, then the name behov'd to have been ours originally, who were more known and conſider'd in the World than they, becauſe of the honour we had in the *Roman* Wars (whoſe Authors do firſt mention *Scoti*, and *Scotia*) and our early converſion to the *Chriſtian* Faith; And by our frequent intercourſe of Colonies with the *Iriſh* (as about the time of *Fergus* the ſecond)

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It is probable we did communicate the name of *Scoti* to theſe Inhabitants in *Ireland*, from whoſe Anceſtors we were deſcended, and among whom our Colonies that were returned, ſettled; as at this day, the *Scots* in the North of *Ireland* do retain the name, and as we had the name of *Hiberni* communicated to us from them; which is abundantly clear'd from what is ſaid out of *Eumenius* and *Gildas*. So that theſe names of *Hiberni* and *Scoti* have become common to both People: But with this difference, that as the *Iriſh* were originally called *Hiberni*; ſo our *Scots* were originally *Scoti*. For of all the paſſages adduced by *Uſher* or St. *Aſaph*, to prove the *Iriſh* to be called *Scoti*, that of *Oroſius* is the firſt that is applicable to them: for theſe from *Claudian*, *Ammianus*, *Pacatius* and *Hegeſippus* do not at all agree with them; nor yet that paſſage from *Proſper*, as has been proved; nor theſe from *Gildas*, for though he calls thoſe People, who are ſaid to return home, *Hiberni* or *Iriſh*; yet

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* Pag. 117, 118. inter Orthodoxogr.

* he calls the ſame People who return'd home *Scots*, and not *Iriſh*: And the actions, to which theſe paſſages cited againſt us relate, are uncontrovertedly by *Beda*, *Gildas*, and all the *Roman* Authors applicable to us, and not to the *Iriſh*: being the three Vaſtations made by the *Picts*, and *Vs* in the *Britiſh* Territories. And *Marianus* (whom the Biſhop likewiſe cites againſt us) * does expreſly apply this to the *Scots*; for he uſes the word *Scoti* in ſpeaking of all the three Vaſtations: And whereas *Gildas* uſeth the word *Scoti* ſpeaking of the firſt two Vaſtations, and ſays, *Hiberni revertuntur domum*, ſpeaking of the laſt: *Marianus*, repeating the ſame paſſage, ſays, *Scoti revertuntur domum*. By which alſo I infer by a far better Conſequence, that the *Scots* muſt be ſaid to return to the place where they were formerly ſettled; but ſo it is, that the place where the *Scots* were formerly ſettled, was the Weſt of *Scotland*, and therefore when they return'd home, they return'd not to *Ireland*, as St. *Aſaph* alledges, but to our North-Weſt-Country as we contend:

* pag. 347. Edit. Baſil.

contend: for the word in *Gildas*, is, *à Circio*, which ſignifies North-Weſt; and *Ireland* lyes South-Weſt from *Grahams-Dyke*, near which theſe actions were done: But *Argile*, and theſe Iſles which We poſſeſſed, lyes indeed North-Weſt from it. And if they had return'd to *Ireland* they had been *Tranſ-marine*, as living in another Iſle, contrary to *Gildas*'s own expreſs aſſertion. 2. Why ſhould the *Picts* and *Scots* (being ſpoke of as to their going home together, the one to the North, and the other to the Weſt) not be thought to have gone home to the ſame Iſle, ſince different Iſles are not mentioned; and if I ſaid, I were going to the Weſt, that in common ſenſe could onely be underſtood, of the Weſt of that Kingdom or Iſland where I then were; and not of any other Kingdom lying to the Weſt thereof. And both the *Picts* and *Scots* being equally called *Tranſ-marine* Nations, if the *Scots* went out of the Iſle, it muſt follow that the *Picts* left it alſo, which never any was ſo ridiculous as to alledge. By all which it clearly follows,

lows, that the words *Scoti & Hiberni* were, before theſe times promiſcuouſly aſcribed to us. And though *Beda* may ſpeak of the *Scots* coming from *Ireland*, and ſetling a third Colony in *Britain* long before *Julius Cæſar*'s time, yet that doth onely prove the Antiquity of the Settlement of the People, that are call'd *Scoti*, but not the Antiquity of their Name, concerning which *Beda* was not treating: for he rather ſeems to inſinuate the contrary, when * he ſays, *A quo* (viz. *duce* Reuda) *uſque hodie Dalreudini vocantur.*

* Lib. 1. cap. 1.

6. The Paſſages adduced by St. *Aſaph* and *Uſher*, for proving that *Ireland* was called *Scotia*, after the age that *Hegeſippus* or *Ambroſe* liv'd in, and within the 1000 years, are very few: and many of them from Legendary Writers. But I ſhall glance at the moſt material. The firſt is *Iſidor Hiſpalenſis* who liv'd in the *7th.* Century, and who ſays Scotia *eadem* & Hibernia *proxima* Britanniæ *Inſula, ſpatio terrarum anguſtior, ſed ſitu fæcundior.* The ſame words are uſed by *Oroſius*, whom he follows, except that *Oro-*

* Lib. 41. cap. de inſulis.

ſius

ſius calls the Inhabitants *Scoti*, but does not call the Countrey *Scotia* but *Hibernia*: ſo that *Oroſius* having firſt call'd the Inhabitants of *Ireland*, *Scoti*, in the year 417, *Iſidor* by an ordinary derivation calls their Countrey *Scotia*, and is the firſt that *Uſher* or St *Aſaph* does produce to prove *Hibernia* to be called *Scotia*; and is in the year 620, and ſo is too late to prove their deſign, ſince it is clearly prov'd that our Countrey was called *Scotia* in St. *Ambroſe*'s time, even by their own conceſſion. And whereas the ſame *Iſidor*, ſpeaking of *Ireland*, ſays, *hæc eſt propriè* Scotorum *patria*; beſide what has been formerly urged, it is obſervable that the word *propriè* does imply, as if it might have been juſtly doubted, and that it was not true in all ſenſes: eſpecially ſince * *Beda* uſes the very ſame expreſſion after that he has fully cleared that we were ſettled here long before that time: and therefore it doth neceſſarily follow that theſe words are conſiſtent with our being ſettled here; and conſequently that they muſt not be ſo interpreted, as to infer that *Ireland*

* Cap. 1. lib. 1

land was the place where we then liv'd, but onely the place from which we came: And ſuch as underſtand the *Civil Law* (the beſt Standard of the Latin Language) muſt acknowledge, that there is * *Patria Originis*, as well as *Incolatûs & domicilii*: And it may be juſtly ſaid of theſe of *Virginia* and other *Engliſh Plantations*, that Anglia *eſt propriè illorum patria*: And generally it is obſervable, that the Authors relating both to us and them, do firſt call the People *Scoti*, and then the Countrey *Scotia*: but ſtill the more ancient Authors call us *Scoti* before them, and our Countrey *Scotia* before theirs.

* Cujac. lib. 14. Obſ. 12. & ad legem 6. parag. grammatici ff. de excuſ. mun.

As to the Citations out of *Adamnanus in vita Columbæ*, and *Beda*: It is certain that *Adamnanus* is lately publiſh'd by an *Iriſh* hand, as appears by the Marginal Notes, the Publiſher ſtill adding *Hibernia* in the Margin, where *Scotia* is in the Text: but however it is certain that *Adamnanus* was *Abbat* of *Hy*, which is *Icolm-kill* among the *Scotiſh* Weſt Iſlands: ſo that in *dubio* he is preſum'd to be a *Scotſman*, and not an

an *Iriſh*; and *Balæus* and others poſitively aſſert him to be a *Scots-man*; Nor is there any reaſon for their calling him an *Iriſh-man*; but becauſe all Authors who ſpeak of him, call him *Scotus*; and to aſſert a man to be an *Iriſh-man*, becauſe he is called *Scotſ-man*, is rather a *Bull* than a *Reaſon*. But becauſe he is mention'd by *Beda*, who liv'd ſhortly after him and is an Author of far greater Authority; what I ſhall obſerve from *Beda*, will ſerve to clear the Citations out of both.

And firſt, *Beda** relates, That Ecgfrid *King of* Northumberland, *having ſent an army into* Ireland *under* Bertus, *he waſted the Countrey, and the innocent people.* and the next year having ſent an army to waſte the Province of the *Picts*, contrary to the advice of his Friends, and of St. *Cuthbert*, *GOD* ſuffered that army to be deſtroy'd, becauſe the former year he had rejected their advice, * *That he ſhould not invade* Scotland, *which did not wrong him:* and to clear that the *Scotia* here expreſs'd was not *Ireland*, he adds,

* Ecgfridus Rex Nordan humbrorum *miſſo in* Hiberniam *cum exercitu duce* Berto *vaſtavit miſere gentem innoxiam & Anglorum genti ſemper amiciſſimam.* *Bed. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 4. cap. 26.*

* Ne Scotiam *nihil ſe lædentem impugnaret. Ibid.*

* Angli & Scoti qui extant in Britannia. Ibid.

* *The* Engliſh *and* Scots *who abide in* Britain. This paſſage (as well as the others which I have cited, and ſhall cite) proves 1. That *Scotland* then has been promiſcuouſly expreſs'd by the Names of *Hibernia* and *Scotia*: For the ſame thing is ſaid firſt to have been done in *Hibernia*, and thereafter it is ſaid to have been done in *Scotia*: and this anſwers the Objection, *Hiberni revertuntur domum*, and where could their home be, but in *Ireland*? 2. It proves that this our Countrey was call'd *Scotia* in *Beda*'s time; and ſo long before the year 1000. which the Biſhop denies. Nor can it be prov'd that the King of *Northumberland* went to make War in *Ireland*; nor ſpeaks *Beda* of any War with *Ireland*.

The next paſſage from *Beda* is, where he ſays * *That* Columbanus *an* Abbat *and* Presbyter *came in the year* 565. *from* Ireland *to* Britain *to Preach the Word of* GOD *to the Provinces of the* North-picts: *and converted them: and got from them*

* Columbanus qui anno incarnationis 565. Abbas & Presbyter venit de Hibernia in Britanniam prædicaturus verbum Dei provinciis ſeptentrionalium Pictorum. Et gentem illam convertit. Unde & præfatam inſulam ab eis in poſſeſſionem monaſterii faciendi accepit; ubi ſepultus eſt. Ex quo Monaſterio, & Monaſterio de Dearmach perplurima Monaſteria propagata ſunt in Hibernia & Britannia, in quibus omnibus idem Monaſterium inſulanum, principatum tenet. Bed. lib. 3. cap. 4.

poſſeſſion

poſſeſſion of the former Iſland *for founding a Monaſtery, where he was buried: Out of which Monaſtery,* (meaning *Hy*) *many other Monaſteries were propagated in* Ireland *and* Britain: *in all which* the ſame Iſland Monaſtery *was the chief.* And he takes notice that the Succeſſors of this *Abbat* differed in the Obſervation of *Paſch* from the *Church* of *Rome*, till the year 716. And thereafter he ſays, That * Aidan *was ſent from this Iſland for inſtructing the Province of the* Engliſh. Now he had ſaid before, † Aidan *who was ſent from the Iſle which is called* Hy, *which is the chief of the* Scotiſh *and* Pictiſh *Monaſteries, and belongs to* Britain. And thereafter he * ſays, *That* Colman *ſeeing his Doctrine ſlighted, and his adherents deſpiſed, returned to* Scotland. So that we ſee that that which at the firſt is called **Ireland*; afterward is called † the *ſaid Iſland*, and the Monaſtery in it, the * *Iſland monaſtery*; and thereafter it is † called the *Iſle of Hy*; and thereafter, it is * called *Scotland*.

I ſhall cite a third paſſage from *Beda*, where ſpeaking of a great

* Ab hac ergo inſula, ad provinciam Anglorum inſtituendam in Chriſto, miſſus eſt Aidanus. lib. 3. cap. 5.

† Aidanus de inſula quæ vocatur Hy deſtinatus quæ arcem tenet monaſteriorum Scotorum & Pictorum, & ad jus Britanniæ pertinet. lib. 3. cap. 3.

* Colman videns ſpretam ſuam doctrinam, ſectamque eſſe deſpectam; Scotiam regreſſus eſt. lib. 3. cap. 26.

* cap. 4.
† Ibid.
* Ibid.
† cap. 3.
* cap. 26.

Plague in *Britain*, he adds, * *This Plague alſo waſted* Ireland *with the ſame deſtruction, at which time there were there many of the* Nobility *and* Commons *of* England, *who in the time of the* Biſhops Finan *and* Colman *having left their own Native Iſland for the greater convenience, either of Divine Studies or a more ſtrict Life, had retired there----All whom the* Scots *kindly entertain'd, and furniſhed with all things neceſſary and gave them gratuitouſly Meat, and Books to read, and Learning.* And thereafter ſpeaking of *Egbert* who was among them, he adds † that *he was a good Example to his own Nation, and to the Nations of the* Picts *and* Scots, *among whom he liv'd retiredly*; by which paſſages it is evident, that that which is here called *Ireland*, is really our *Scotland*, firſt becauſe it is ſaid, *they came from* England *upon the occaſion of* Finan *and* Colman, who were our Countreymen, and whoſe chief reſidence was the Iſle of *Hy*, or *Icolm-kill*; (from which they came) which did then, and does ſtill belong to us onely, and which the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* alſo

* *Hæc autem plaga* Hiberniam *inſulam, pari clade premebat: Erant ibidem eodem tempore multi Nobilium ſimul & mediocrium de gente* Anglorum, *qui tempore* Finani & Colmanni Epiſcoporum, *relictâ inſulâ patriâ, vel divinæ lectionis, vel continentioris vitæ gratia, illo ſeceſſerunt ---Quos omnes* Scoti *libentiſſime ſuſcipientes victum eis quotidianum ſine pretio, libros quoque ad legendum, & magiſterium gratuitum præbere curabant.* lib. 3. cap. 27.

† *Unde & genti ſuæ, & illis in quibus exulabat nationibus* Scotorum *ſive* Pictorum *exemplo fuit.* Ibid.

alſo * confeſſes: and then *becauſe in their Monaſtick life*, it is ſaid, they reſided among the *Scots* and *Picts*, and † it is ſaid before that the Iſland where the Monaſtery was, belonged to *Britain*.

* Cap. 5. generally, and ſpecially pag. 109.

† Lib. 3. cap. 3. *& ad jus* Britanniæ *pertinet.*

But for farther clearing the former Citations from *Beda* I ſhall offer theſe following Conſiderations. 1. That *Beda* treats onely the Actions of theſe five Nations that did inhabit *Britain:* and if he do ſpeak of *France* or *Ireland*, it is but upon occaſion of them; as of the ſituation of *Ireland* from whence the *Scots* came, or of ſome Monaſteries depending upon *Icolm-kill*, which perhaps were ſituated near us, in the North of *Ireland:* and therefore unleſs all theſe paſſages were clearly applicable to *Ireland*, they muſt be underſtood of *Scotland*. 2. It being certain, that *Beda* in the beginning of his Book treats concerning the *Scots* in *Britain*, the *Roman* Wars with them, and *Palladius* his being ſent to them, it neceſſarily follows, that the reſt of the Book mentioning the *Scots*, or that part of the Iſle poſſeſs'd by them, is to be underſtood

derstood of us, whether the Countrey he called *Hibernia* or *Scotia*, or We *Hiberni* or *Scoti:* especially since *Beda* mentions a King call'd *Aidan*, and * we had a King of that Name in that time, which the *Irish* cannot pretend. *Beda* treats also concerning the *Abbats* of *Hy*, which is *Icolm-kill*, as is clear by that passage * where he says, Columba *Founder of the Monastery in the Isle of* Hy, *venerable to the* Scots *and* Picts, *which by a compounded name from* Columba *and* Cell *is called* Icolm-kill. And that the *Monks* sent from this Monastery or Island were the Converters of the *North-Saxons*, and the first Bishops of *Lindasfern* or *Holy-Island* Predecessors of the Bishop of *Durham*. 3. He makes frequent mention of little Islands, which never did belong to *Ireland*, but to *Scotland*, and are still called *Hebrides*; And so the chief of these Isles where the *Abbat* sate, the Records were kept, and the Kings were buried, might probably be called *Insula Hiberniæ*, or *Hibernia*, and that *Scotia* might be the ordinary name toa ll that part of

* Buch. p. 152.

* Columba *fundator monasterii quod in* Hy *insula, venerabile* Scotis *&* Pictis, *& composito nomine à Cella & Columba Collumcelli vocatur*, lib. 5. c. 10.

of the Isle of *Britain* benorth the River of *Clyde*: so that the going from *Hibernia* or *Scotia in Britanniam*, is nothing but the going to the other side of *Clyde*, * by which and *Grahams-Dyke* that part of the Isle was distinguish'd from the rest, as if it had been a distinct Island. 4. The great Controversie at that time being about the keeping of *Pasch*, *Laurentius Mellitus*, and *Justus*, Bishops, did write a Letter to us of the following tenour. * Laurentius Mellitus *and* Justus, Bishops, *Servants of all the Servants of* God, *To our deareſt Brethren the* Bishops *and* Abbats *through all* Scotland. *Whileas the* Apostolick See, *according to the custome it hath observ'd in the rest of the World, did send us to preach the* Gospel *unto the* Heathens *in these Western parts, and that it happened us to come into this Isle which is called* Britain; *we held in religious reverence both the* Scots *and*

* Bed. lib. 1. cap. 12.

* *Dominis Charissimis fratribus* Episcopis *vel* Abbatibus *per universam* Scotiam, Laurentius Mellitus, & Justus, Episcopi *servi servorum Dei. Dum nos* Sedes Apostolica *more suo, sicut in universo orbe terrarum in his occiduis partibus ad predicandum gentibus paganis dirigeret, atque in hanc insulam, quæ* Britannia *nuncupatur contigit introisse, antequam cognoscerem us credentes, quod juxta morem* universalis Ecclesiæ *ingrederentur, in magna reverentia sanctitatis tam* Britones *quam* Scotos *venerati sumus. Sed cognoscentes* Britones, Scotos *meliores putavimus.* Scotos *vero per* Dagamum Episcopum *in hanc quam superius memoravimus insulam, &* Columbanum Abbatem *in* Galliis *venientem, nihil discrepare à* Britonibus *in eorum conversatione didicimus. Nam* Dagamus Episcopus *ad nos veniens, non solum cibum nobiscum, sed nec in eodem hospitio quo vescebamur sumere voluit.* Bed. lib. 2. cap. 14.

Britons, *believing that they did walk after the Cuſtome of the* Univerſal Church: *But after we had known the* Britons, *we judg'd the* Scots *to be the better minded: Yet now we perceive by* Dagamus, *the* Biſhop *who is come hither, and by* Columbanus *the* Abbat *in* France, *that the* Scots *differ nothing in their obſervations from the* Britons, *for* Dagamus *being here, refuſed not onely to eat with us, but even to ſtay in the ſame Inn or Lodging.* Now that this is onely applicable to us, and not to the *Scots* in *Ireland*, the ſubject doth prove, being exhortatory Letters to conform in the obſervation of *Paſch*, wherein the *Britiſh Scots* who follow'd *Columba* differ'd from the *Roman Church.* 2. The Letter is written to the *Scots*, and relates to other Letters written to the *Britons* in the ſame Iſle; and who needed the ſame exhortation. And it is to be remembred, That *Uſher* generally concludes, that where the *Scots* and *Britons* are mentioned in Conjunction, by *Scots* there, are to be underſtood the *Britiſh Scots.* 3. * *Camerarius* cites *Georgius Newton,*

* *In Append. ad lib. 3. pag. 231.*

ton, who about the Year 1500, being then *Arch-deacon* of *Dumblain*, did write the Acts of that *Church*, and relates that he had ſeen the *Autographum* of that Letter among the Records of that *Church*; and ſo it muſt neceſſarily have been written to the *Scots* in *Britain*, elſe it had not been in the cuſtody of our *Church-men*, and at *Dumblain*.

And it is obſervable that *Marianus pag.* 375. makes mention of other two letters, in the year 638. The one from *Honorius*, and the other from *Pope John*, upon the ſame head; both which *Marianus* ſays, were ſent to us, and not to the *Iriſh*.

I could adduce many other Citations to prove *Scotland* to have been call'd *Hibernia* in theſe ages: but it is ſufficient to add, to theſe unanſwerable proofs already adduced, the authority of the *Roman martyrology*; wherein *Sanctus Beanus* is deſign'd *Epiſcopus Aberdoniæ in Hibernia*, at the 16. of *December*. To which *Vardæus* an *Iriſh-man in vita Rumoldi* anſwers, that there might have been a place in *Ireland* call'd *Aberdeen*, becauſe *Aber* is an *Iriſh* word, ſignifying a *Mariſh*. And there is a Town call'd *Doun* in *Ireland*, ſituated near a *Mariſh*. A prety *Witticiſm* indeed! eſpecially as he propoſes the Objection, and anſwers the ſame as you may ſee upon the Mar-

Margine : * But to take off all Debate, *Beanus* is nam'd in our *Chartularies*, as well as *Hiſtories*, as the firſt Biſhop of *Aberdeen* : and the Mortifications granted to him, by our *King Malcolm 2d.* in the year 1010. of the Lands of *Murthlack*, *Cloveth*, and *Dounmeth*, are yet extant : and his *Tomb* is yet to be ſeen in the *Cathedral* of *Aberdeen*, at the poſtern Door of the Church.

To the former paſſages I muſt alſo add, that albeit our Countrey was promiſcuouſly call'd *Scotia*, and *Hibernia*, as has been prov'd; Yet *Scotia*, even in that time, was the more frequent Name of our Countrey : and which, to keep cloſe to *Beda*, appears, for when he ſpeaks of the Iſle *Hy* (to which the former Citations chiefly relate, and which was the place of our Countrey, in which his Hiſtory being Eccleſiaſtick is chiefly concern'd, as being then, one of (if not) the moſt famous Monaſtery in the Weſtern World, he expreſſes it to be in *Scotia* : as where he tells, That

* Ceol-

* *Dices in* Martyrologio Romano vulgari *legi ad diem* 16. Decembris, Aberdone *in* Hibernia S. Beani Epiſcopi : Abredonenſis *autem* ſedes Epiſcopalis *eſt in* Scotia Britannica : *Ergo vel in hac eſt vel hæc aliquando fuit* Hibernia pag. 379.

Adnugatorium ergo *Sophiſma* diſtinguo *Minorem* : *Abredonenſis*, locus de quo Martyrologium agit, eſt in Britannia, Nego Minorem: alius ejuſdem nominis, tranſeat. Vel abſolute, Nego Conſequentiam, ob fallaciam figuræ dictionis; ut hanc, Omnis Canis eſt latrabilis; ſed ſidus eſt canis; Ergo ſidus eſt latrabile, *&c.* pag. 380.

* Ceollach *of the Nation of the* Scots, *leaving his* Biſhoprick *in* England, *return'd to* Hy, *where the* Scots *had their chief Monaſtery:* And thereafter he tells, That † *the ſame* Ceollach *having left his Biſhoprick, return'd to* Scotland. And the ſame *Beda* * Writing of *Adamnanus*, calls him, Abbat *and* Presbyter *of the* Monks *that are in the Monaſtery of* Hu: And mentioning the ſame *Adamnanus*, † He tells that *he returned to* Scotland, after his Embaſſy in *England.* And how can it be denyed that *Hy* is in *Scotland*? ſince *Beda* calls it *Scotland*, and ſays that *it belong'd to* Britain: and is by all *Geographers* nam'd one of our *Hebrides*, and lyes locally within our Countrey; and was one of the firſt places which we planted, and far remoter from *Ireland*, than *Kintire* and others of our Iſlands; and in which our Kings were buried, and our Records kept.

* Ceollach de natione Scotorum, qui non multo poſt Epiſcopatu relicto reverſus eſt ad inſulam Hy, ubi plurimorum caput & arcem Scoti habuere cœnobiorum. Bed. lib. 3. cap. 21.
† Ceollach qui relicto Epiſcopatus officio vivens ad Scotiam rediit. Bed. lib. 3. cap. 24.
* Adamnanus presbyter & Abbas Monachiorum qui erant in inſula Hu. Bed. lib. 5. cap. 16.
† Adamnanus reverſus ad Scotiam. Bed. lib. 5. cap. 22.

To conclude this propoſition, I ſhall add theſe reflexions; 1. That it is not ſo eaſie for St. *Aſaph* to explicate himſelf as to theſe paſſages concerning *Scotia* and *Scoti*, and to make them

them ſignifie *Ireland* and *Iriſh*, ſince the 500 year, as before: for admitting that the Terms were anciently applicable to *Ireland*, and that the *Scots* when mention'd here, were but by Invaſion from *Ireland*; Yet it being acknowledg'd, that after the year 500, we were ſettled here; It follows, that when the *Scots* and *Scoti* are mention'd in relation to *Britiſh* affairs, and conjunction with the Inhabitants of *Britain*, they muſt be underſtood of us, and our Countrey. 2. *Beda* mentioning our Countrey to be call'd *Scotia*, as well as *Hibernia*, from *Columba*'s time to his own, it is not onely an evidence, that it was ſo call'd in that time, but that the name had not been then firſt given, otherwiſe he could not have been ignorant of the Change, nor would he have failed to remark it: ſo that we may reaſonably conclude in his ſenſe, the Name of *Scotia* is as ancient in *Britain*, as the time he mentions the ſettlement, Wars, and Religion of the *Scots* there. 3. It is evident, That St. *Aſaph*'s * Propoſition is falſe, *viz.* That, *when we ſettled here after the year*

* Cap. 1. ſect. 9.

year 500, *our Kingdom was called* Argile *or* Dalrieda : for if this had been true, this name being ſo recent could not but have been noticed and uſed by *Gildas* and *Beda*; and yet it is never ſo much as once mention'd by either of them; though *Beda* upon the occaſion of the Monaſtery of *Hy*, or *Icolmkill*, and of the Biſhops ſent thence to *England* doth frequently mention the names of *Hibernia* and *Scotia*, and that St. *Aſaph* * doth not controvert, but that theſe Biſhops were ſent from our Iſle of *Icolm-kill* to *England*. 4. We may obſerve how warrantable Biſhop *Uſher's* * Poſition (repeated by St. *Aſaph*) is that no Authour mentions our Countrey by the name of *Scotia* for the firſt 1000 years: whereas moſt of all the former Authours both within and without the Iſle, prove *Scotia* to have been the name of our Countrey; and the whole tract of *Beda's* Hiſtory proves, that ſince the 560, this Countrey was generally ſo called: whereas neither *Gildas*, nor *Beda* who liv'd near that time, and wrote whole Books of us, do once call it *Dalrieda* or *Argile*: and conſequently

* Cap. 5. ſect. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

* Pag. 734.

ſequently (as I obſerv'd before) St. *Aſaph*'s whole §. 9. of the firſt Chapter, wherein he aſſerts, that about the year 500 the *Scots* erected the Kingdom of *Argile* or *Dalrieda* is moſt unwarrantable; for though *Beda* calls us once *Dalreudini*, yet this is ſpoken of us by him, in the time of our *King Reuda*, and ſo near 700 years before the 503 after *Chriſt*. And from this alſo ariſes a clear confutation of what St. *Aſaph* aſſerts, that no Authour writing within the 1000 years and naming *Scotia*, means us; which is ſo far from being true, that no Authour of Credit (*Iſidor* onely excepted) did then by *Scotia* mean *Ireland*. And the beſt Authority that *Uſher* gives us for *Dalrieda* is *Jocelin*; which St. *Aſaph* hath improved by a new Authority out of a Manuſcript of the *Lord Burleigh's* where the Authour thinks that *Dalrieda* and the Kingdom of *Argile*, are the ſame. Authours not to be once mentioned with theſe whom we cite.

7. The diſtinction of *Scotia major*, and *minor* is lately invented: for either *Ireland* was call'd *Scotia major* before

before the year 1000; or onely ſince: if the firſt, then it neceſſarily implyeth that at that time our Countrey was alſo call'd *Scotia minor*; there being no other place aſſignable: but this is contrary to *Uſher* and St. *Aſaph's* poſition who deny our Countrey was called *Scotia* at all for the firſt 1000 years. If it be aſſerted that this diſtinction was after the 1000 year; then there was little or no uſe for it: for *Uſher* tells that *Nubienſis Geographus* about the year 1150. deſcribes *Ireland* by the name of *Hibernia*, and deſcribes our Countrey by the name of *Scotia*: and ſo it ſeems at that time *Ireland* had loſt the name in our favours; and it is not to be imagin'd that *Nubienſis* remarked the firſt periods of the change of the name; and Geographers do deſcribe Countries by their ordinary names: nor does *Uſher*. adduce any other Teſtimony ſave a Letter of *Dovenaldus Oneil Prince of* Ulſter *to Pope John 22d* wherein there is this paſſage * *Beſide the Kings of leſſer* Scotland, *who all came originally from our* greater Scotland. And a Patent

* Pag. 734.

* Pag. 724, & 737.

* Quod præter Reges minoris Scotiæ, qui omnes de noſtra majore Scotia originem ſumpſere.

Patent of *Sigiſmund* the *Emperour* **To the Convent of the* Scots *and* Iriſh *of* Greater Scotland *of a Monaſtery in* Ratisbon. Now *Uſher* acknowledgeth the eldeſt of theſe two Citations were in the 14th, or 15th Century; when I hope no body will aſſert, that *Ireland* was called *Scotia major*, or that ever the Kings of *England* who were Lords of *Ireland* were ever called Lords *Majoris Scotiæ*; and it is probable they would have very much affected that Title (if the Countrey had had that name) although they could never make themſelves Maſters *Scotiæ Minoris*. But it is no wonder, that the *Iriſh* ſhould be vain to tell Foreigners that they were our Chief, and ſo their Countrey ought to be called *Scotia minor*: notwithſtanding that our Nation was then become great and glorious: and that *Uſher* can find no better authority for his diſtinction of *Scotia major* and *mojor*, than theſe borrowed and magnifying Names, uſed long after he himſelf acknowledgeth that *Ireland* had loſt the name of *Scotia*, and that We were onely in poſſeſſion of it.

*[*Conventus* Scotorum & Hibernorum *de* majore Scotia *Monaſterii in* Ratisbona.

8. The

8. The miſtaking of the names of *Scotia* and *Hibernia*, and of that aſſertion, Scotia *eadem &* Hibernia, and applying theſe names ſtill to *Ireland*, and not to our Countrey, hath been the ground whereupon we have been injured, as to the Antiquity of our *Kings* and *Countrey*, *Saints* and *Learned Men*, *Monaſteries* and *greatneſs abroad:* for admitting it to be true, that we were not ſettled here till the year 500; yet ſince that time we had the greateſt ſhare in worthy men, and brave actions; and therefore they extend the conſequences beyond their own grounds, in making all the *Scoti-Iriſh*, and all that is ſaid of *Scotland*, to be meant of *Ireland*, even after the year 503. For beſide the novelty of the diſtinction of *Scotia Major & Minor*, and that *Ireland* had loſt the name of *Scotia* before the year 1150. (if ever it was uſually ſo call'd) What appearance is there, that *Ireland*, which (is acknowledg'd) anciently, and till the year 300. paſſed under the name of *Hibernia* (a little before which time we have no mention *Scotici nominis*) ſhould after the 300

year have assum'd the name of *Scotia*, and immediately after the 1100 year quit it again, and after all reassum'd the name of *Hibernia* or *Irelandia*? and that the *Scots* in *Britain*, who were long settled there, should yet never get the name *Scotia* to their Countrey, till about the time that *Ireland* was quitting it. And yet we find in *Malcolm* 2. his time (as was formerly observ'd) who began to Reign in the year 1004. That the *Frith* of *Forth* (in his Laws in the Book of *Regiam Majestatem*) is call'd *Mare Scotiæ*: And also it is said there that the same King did Distribute *omnem terram* Scotiæ *hominibus suis*: and it is not to be concluded, that this was the first time that our Countrey was so call'd; and about that time *Ireland* was expressed onely by the name of *Hibernia*, for King *Henry* second of *England*, who began to Reign in the year 1154. is styled *Lord of Ireland*.

And to clear farther that *Scotia* about these times was the ordinary name for *Scotland*, and *Hibernia* for *Ireland*; I shall onely add some

ſome few Paſſages out of *Marianus Scotus*, who was born in the year 1028, and died in the year 1086, * who ſays, that about the year 1016 *Brianus King of* Ireland *was Killed*, and a little thereafter † at the year 1034. *Malcolm King of* Scotland *died, and* Duncan *the ſon of his Daughter ſucceeded him.* And after that he ſays at the year 1040. * Duncan *King of* Scotland *was killed, and the ſon of* Finlay *ſucceeded in his Kingdom*, whom afterward † he calls * *Machetad* King of *Scotland*. All which paſſages agree exactly with our Hiſtory, and the ſummary of our Kings lives, as they are recorded in our Acts of Parliament, and prove that *Marianus* treats of *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, as different Kingdoms in his time.

* Brianus Rex Hiberniæ necatur. pag. 423.
† Moelcolium Rex Scotiæ obiit, Donchad filius filiæ ejus ſibi ſucceſſit, pag. 424.
* Donchad Rex Scotiæ occiditur & Mchinlaech ſucceſſit in Regnum ejus, pag 425.
† pag. 427.
* Mackbeth.

In the laſt place I ſhall make ſome Remarks upon the moſt palpable of theſe miſtakes, and of the chief Authors thereof: wherein I ſhall vindicate the Right and Dignity of our Countrey, and aſſert theſe worthy perſons controverted to be ours. I ſhall not inſiſt much againſt *Stanihurſt*, he being ſollidy Confuted by

* Appen. ad lib. 3. *Camerarius*, and with that ſeverity by *Dempſter*; that his Nephew Biſhop *Uſher* (as the Duke of *Lauderdail* Remarked in ſome Judicious Reflexions of his upon this occaſion) did highly reſent it, and in this matter hath exceeded his uſual Temperament and Moderation. And yet *Stanihurſt* never ſpeaks injuriouſly of our Nation; for though he miſtakes many things, and applys them to his own Countrey: Yet it appears to be, rather of Deſign to magnifie it, than injure ours: for heacknowledgeth ingenuouſly* *That he doth not clearly ſee from what time the Name of* Scotland *commenced.* And though thereafter he Taxeth *Boethius* upon the Subject of *Gathelus* and *Scota*, and that he mixeth Fables and Vain-glory with his Hiſtory: Yet he neither Diſapproves of *Buchanan*, nor follows he *Luddus*, both of whom he cites, and who were immediately before him; his Book being Printed at *Antwerp*, in the year 1584. In his Appendix alſo, Commenting upon *Giraldus Cambrenſis* (a *Welſh man*, and *Secretary* to *King Henry* 2*d.* of *England*, and flouriſhed

* Lib. 1. pag. 17. Verum à quo primum initio Scotiæ nomen ſit tractum nondum planè perſpectum video.

flouriſhed before the end of the 12*th*. Century) He tranſlates *Cambrenſis* who deſcribes *Ireland* by the name of *Hibernia*, and makes frequent mention of our Countrey under the name of *Scotia*, as when he ſpeaks of the extent of *Ireland*, he ſays (as *Stanihurſt* interprets it) that * *it is equal in largneſs to* Wales *and* Scotland. And elſewhere he ſays that † *Scotland is called the North part of the Iſle of* Britain. And afterwards he tells the Story of *Moreds* ſix ſons, and that from them the Inhabitants of the North part of *Britain*, * *by a ſpecifick word were called the* Scotiſh *Nation*. And *Stanihurſt* in his Annotations on theſe two Chapters contends that before St. *Patrick*'s time our Countrey was called *Scotia*; and brings for proofs St. *Jerome*, who aſſerts that the *Scots* were *Gens Britannica*; but with great concern he vindicates us from the calumny of eating Mens Fleſh: and for our Antiquity he cites *Beda*, who ſays, that *Sub duce Reudà* we made a third Nation in *Britain*. So that we ſee that neither the *Welſh* in *Giraldus*'s time, nor the *Iriſh* in *Stanihurſt*'s

* *Quantæ circumſcriptis* Wallia *&* Scotia *potior inſula* Britannicæ *pars Regibuſque antiquis appropriata*, pag. 223.

† Scotia *quoque pars Inſulæ* Britannicæ *dicitur Aquilonaris*, pag. 245.

* *Specificato vocabulo gens* Scotia *appellatur*. cap. 19.

hurſt's time had the opinion of our late ſettlement, and that our Countrey was not call'd *Scotia* for 1000. years after Chriſt; which their Succeſſours *Luddus*, *Camden*, *Uſher* and St. *Aſaph* have had. And the *Iriſh* in thoſe days took a far better way for advancing their own intereſt in doing us juſtice; That ſince from all the conſiderable actions we did, there did ariſe a meaſure of that honour to them, from whoſe Countrey we came as a Colony: Where as ſince they were influenc'd by Strangers, they have ſuffer'd themſelves to be impos'd upon, ſo as to leſſen our true merit, in appropriating immediatly to themſelves theſe devout perſons, who were really our Countrey-men: without conſidering that the material unjuſtice was much greater than the imaginary honour: And this *Plagiariſm* and *Manſtealing* became eaſie to them ſince our *Reformation* from *Popery*, becauſe after that time we became too careleſs of theſe eminent perſons both at home and abroad, who had lived in the *Roman* communion, or before that time. But I will not inſiſt on this for

for I hope their native kindneſs will incline them to return to their firſt juſt methods.

If I had leaſure, I would make larger Reflexions, to prove how unconſequential *Uſher* is, in making *Sedulius* and *Marianus Iriſh*: ſince by all Writers they are both call'd *Scots*, and *Balæus* an *Engliſh man* tells, that * *Sedulius* flouriſh'd under *Fergus* 2d, and † *Marianus* under *Mcbeth*, both our Kings; and *Baronius* aſſerts alſo this poſitively. And *Sedulius* having liv'd before *St. Patrick*'s time, (who was the firſt *Apoſtle of Ireland*) and being Diſciple to *Hildebert*, an acknowledg'd *Scot*, and who liv'd in the 390, muſt be prior to the *Iriſh Chriſtianity*; which *Giraldus* and *Stanihurſt* acknowledge to have been firſt planted by *St. Patrick* in the year 432. Nor can * *Uſher* in all his vaſt reading find any *Chriſtians* in *Ireland* betwixt the year 400, and 432, which was *St. Patrick*'s time, but *Kiaranus*, *Ailbeus*, *Declanus*, *Ibarus*: Though if *Sedulius* had been an *Iriſh*, he had been certainly mention'd and employ'd, before theſe obſcure Perſons; and certainly he would have employed himſelf be-

• Pag. 789.

* Pag. 187. cent. 14.

† Pag. 210. cent. 14.

• Pag. 789.

fore *St. Patrick*'s time in the Converſion of his own native Countrey, if he had been truly *Iriſh*. And as to *Marianus Scotus*, it is a wonder, how it can be controverted that he was a *Scots-man*; ſince our Countrey was then called *Scotland* by *St. Aſaph*'s own confeſſion; and *Ireland* was juſt then loſing that name; and *Marianus* in his whole Book diſtinguiſhes betwixt *Scoti* and *Hiberni*, and mentions the forementioned three Kings of *Scotland*, about whoſe time he liv'd; and alſo makes mention of one King of *Ireland* about that time: as has been obſerved already, and particularly, ſpeaking of the Converſions * by *Palladius* and *St. Patrick*, he expreſly diſtinguiſhes betwixt *Scoti* and *Hibernenſes*.

But paſſing theſe, I confeſs it is pretty ridiculous to ſee a whole Book written by the above-mentioned *Vardæus*, and gloſſed by *Sirin*, and publiſhed at *Louvain* 1662, to prove that *Rumoldus Arch-Biſhop* of *Mechlin* was an *Iriſh-man*: ſince the Arms of *Scotland* (which are, *Or, a Lyon Rampant Gules, within a double Treſſure flowered and counterflowered*

* Ad Scotos in Chriſtum credentes ordinatus à Papa Cæleſtino Palladius primus Epiſcopus miſſus eſt. Poſt ipſum Sanctus Patricius conſecratus & ad Archiepiſcopum Hibernenſem mittitur, & totam inſulam convertit ad fidem, pag. 340.

terflowered with Flower de lis of the ſame) are placed upon every Window of the *Cathedral Church* built by him, and are to this day a part of the Arms of that *Archi-Epiſcopal See*; *Rumoldus* himſelf being a *Cadet* of the *Royal Family* of *Scotland*: And in which witty Book, the Authour, to confute this, * is forced to maintain that the *Scotiſh Lyon* is born by ſeveral *Iriſh* Families; And the *double Treſſure*, though anciently born by *Scotland*, and which is *Blazon'd* in that Archi-Epiſcopal Coat of Arms, might have been born by the *Iriſh*, becauſe that famous League betwixt the *Scots* and *Charlemaigne*, was made with the Kings of *Ireland*, and not with the Kings of *Scotland*; and that our Kings had never any Leagues with the *French*, till the reign of *Charles* 7th, who was Contemporary with our King *James* 1ſt: Whereas the whole *French* Hiſtories as well as ours; and all Foreign Hiſtorians as well as either; the Leagues yet extant; the Privileges granted thereupon to us, recorded in the *French* Regiſters, and ours; many Deciſions in

* *Artic.* 14. & ag. 281.

in Parliaments and other Courts; and the univerſal conſent of all the *French*, whoever liv'd ſince that time, do in all Humility ſeem to be ſufficient warrands for laughing at this monſtrous aſſertion; as I do at him and others, who pretend that the *Scotiſh* Monaſteries in *Germany* are *Iriſh*: ſince they were founded in *Charle-Maigne*'s time, by *William*, Brother to our King *Achaius*, and others that went there with him; and they are to this day govern'd by *Abbats* and *Priors* of our Countrey: Nor can it be underſtood, how the *French* and *Germans* could miſtake their own Records and Foundations for ſo many hundreds of years together. And by this I leave my Reader to meaſure the other Follies of ſuch Authours; loving to reaſon with ſuch onely, as have the uſe of it.

I hope it now at laſt appears, that I have detected thoſe ingenious artifices, which the *Biſhop* was forc'd to uſe, to ſupply his want of ſolid and juſt grounds in this his undertaking. As,

1. That,

1. That, to conciliate reſpect to this undertaking, as well as to excuſe it, he pretends that it was neceſſary for the defence of *Epiſcopacy*.

2. He makes a great muſter of old Authours in the beginning of his Book, as if all theſe were men of great credit, and did concur with him to refute our Hiſtory; and adorns his Margins with formidable numbers of Citations.

3. Knowing, that it could be prov'd both by *Britiſh* and Foreign Hiſtorians, that we were here very anciently, he confeſſes this; but by a new and ſtrange invention, he aſſerts that we were not here as ſettled Inhabitants, but onely by way of Incurſion.

4. He defers our coming here, till the year 503, and ſo longer than the firſt Inventors of this new Story did; upon deſign to make our Settlement here, later than that of the *Anglo-Saxons* who ſettl'd here in *anno* 449.

5. He leſſens the reputation of all our Hiſtorians, and endeavours alſo to make them paſs but for one; as if the ſucceeding Hiſtorian had ſeen

ſeen no other warrands, but the preceding Hiſtories.

6. He treats in ridicule *Jeffrey* and ſome other Hiſtorians of his own Countrey, who he knew, could not be ſuſtain'd however; and this he does upon deſign, to ſhew his impartiality, and that he ſpares not his own more than ours.

7. For the ſame reaſon he decries the *Britiſh* deſcent from *Brutus*; in which he loſes nothing, becauſe no ſober man could have defended it; and he denies the converſion of their own King *Lucius*, to ſtrike thereby with the greater authority at the Antiquity of our *Royal-Line* and *Nation*, treating King *Donald*'s Converſion alſo as a Fable: and thus according to our Proverb, *He is content to let a friend go with a foe.*

8. He complements our Nation in later times, to excuſe the injury he does our Kings and Antiquity.

9. He uſes the Foreign Authours that ſhould be urg'd for us, to prevent our uſing of them as proving Arguments againſt him.

10. Finding

10. Finding that *Ireland* has been call'd *Scotia*, he tranſplants our old *Saints* thither, and applies to it, all that is ſaid of our Countrey: nor did ever any Authour improve better a pitifull clinch.

11. He concurs in another deſign like to this, for, becauſe it could not be deny'd that *Fergus* was our firſt King; all the Citations for proving this, are therefore apply'd to *Fergus* the ſecond, and not to *Fergus* the firſt.

Laſtly, Whereas *Cambden* and *Uſher* ſpeak doubtingly of their own Arguments; *St. Aſaph* fearing, that his Reader could not be convinc'd, of what himſelf was not: he therefore propoſes all theſe Arguments with a confidence, which would ſeem to argue that full Conviction in himſelf, which he wiſhes in others.

If any perſon then would know, how that *Scotland*, which was but a ſmall Colony, grew up to a Kingdom that deſerv'd ſo well: my thoughts of this are, that, 1. The conſtant defence that we were oblig'd to make againſt the *Romans* and

and *Britons* at firſt, and *Engliſh* thereafter, Nations wiſe, brave and poliſh'd, living in the ſame Iſle with us; and the *Picts* within us, did force us to think and fight, and the obſerving the actions and conduct of ſuch Enemies could not leave the obſervers rude or ignorant: and it is like that the glory of ſuch Noble Adverſaries rais'd our Wit and Courage above the pitch of a Northern and confin'd Nation. 2. Our Countrey having had the happineſs to ſtop the *Roman* Conqueſt, this gave ſtrangers a value for us; and therefore when any of the gallant *Britons* ſcorn'd to ſubmit to the ſlavery and drudgery of a Conqueſt, they fled unto us from the *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Normans*; and being paſſionate lovers of Liberty, they animated us by their aſſiſtence and example: this likewiſe brought in brave Strangers amongſt us, as all gallant Spirits did lately run to *Holland* in its firſt riſe: and (as our Hiſtorians probably relate) very many of theſe, return'd with *Fergus* the ſecond from the Wars in *Italy*, whither that generous young Prince went to aſſiſt *Alarick* againſt

againſt the *Romans*, in a juſt reſentment of the injury done by them to his Predeceſſors, and with whom he was preſent at the ſacking of *Rome*. 3. We have been very happy in ſo Heroick and Wiſe a Race of Kings, whoſe Bloud being refin'd by a long Royal Deſcent, hath been thereby purify'd from all meanneſs, and elevated to that love for glory, which is ordinary in thoſe, who never knew what it was to obey. 4. Our Countrey having entered early into a remarkable League with *France*, in the Reign of *Charle-Maigne*; our Countrey-men got excellent breeding, under ſo wiſe and valiant a Prince; and have ever ſince, by being conſtantly employed in the *French*, and other Wars, attain'd to a degree of merit, beyond what was to be expected in this Climate. 5. Our Countrey having neither Bogs nor Fogs, our Ground being Rocky and Gravelly, and our Air fann'd by Winds; this preſerves us from the dulneſs and Phlegm of the Northern Climates; and the want of that ſuperfluous plenty, and bewitching pleaſure, which ſo tned even *Hannibal*

nibal when he came to *Capua*, preſerves us againſt the Delicacy and Effeminateneſs of Southern Nations. And whereas (Heroick Vertue being ſtill attended by Envy) ſome in railery pretend, that we were unconquer'd, becauſe we deſerv'd not the pains and trouble of a War; I need not ſeriouſly anſwer, what no Hiſtorian can urge: For it is ridiculous to think, that the *Romans* would not have rather conquer'd us, than built two ſtrong and expenſive Walls againſt us; which bounded their Fame, as well as their Conqueſt. And *England* hath taken too much pains to gain us, either by Conqueſt or Alliance, to have undervalued us. And though when we were divided by the differences betwixt the *Bruce* and *Baliol* of old, and betwixt the *Royaliſts* and *Covenanters* of late; the half of our Countrey having onely defended its Liberties, whilſt the other half joyn'd with its Enemies; we were rather over-run, than overcome: And yet we ſoon recovered our former liberty. Albeit, to be overcome by *England* had been

no

no great affront to us: *England* being a greater and richer Nation than we are. And therefore I hope, all honeſt men will with Judicious *Samuel Daniel* in his Hiſtory at the year 1296. confeſs, that it had been a pity, we had not had a better Countrey, to be the Theatre of ſo many worthy and Heroick actions.

Having thus clear'd, how our Nation arriv'd at its preſent conſiſtence, I am to finiſh this Diſcourſe, with a repreſentation of the many rights, which our Kings have to the *Imperial Throne* of thoſe Kingdoms; and to ſhew how they ſucceed to all who ever pretended to Monarchy in any of them.

As to the *Britiſh* part of the Iſle, *Aurelius Ambroſius* was, by common conſent, choſen ſole Prince of all the *Britons*: and he had no other ſucceſſion, ſave two Daughters, *Anna* married to the *King* of the *Picts*, and *Ada* married to the *King* of the *Scots*. *Mordredus* King of the *Picts*, Grand-child to the foreſaid *Aurelius*, finding himſelf debarr'd from the Succeſſion of the *Britiſh* Crown, employ'd the *Scots*, who

fought for him againſt the *Britons*. But the *Britons* having called in the *Saxons*, after a bloudy Battel, both Parties were forced to withdraw; and the King of the *Picts* was induc'd to deſiſt from his pretenſions at that time. But thereafter *Hungus* King of the *Picts*, and the direct Heir of the ſame *Mordredus*, and conſequently of *Ambroſius* King of the *Britons*, gave his Siſter *Ferguſiana* to *Achaius* King of the *Scots*; and in her Right *Alpin* King of *Scotland* ſucceeded both to the *Britiſh* and *Pictiſh Crowns*; *Hungus* having died without any Children, *Kenneth* 2d, Son to *Alpin* was forc'd to conquer the *Picts*, who refus'd unjuſtly to receive him as their lawfull King.

Our Kings are likewiſe Lineal Heirs of the *Daniſh*-Race, who were Kings of *England* for 27, or as others ſay 29 years; they being the onely Lineal Succeſſors of *Canutus* King of the *Danes* in *Britain*: for *Margaret* Wife to King *Malcolm* 3d, was Siſter to *Edgar*, which *Edgar* was Grandchild to *St. Edward*, who was Brother to *Hardiknut* Son to *Canutus*.

After

After this the Kingdom of *England* return'd to the old Stock in King *Edward*'s time, to whom ſucceeded *Edgar*, whoſe Siſter the pious Queen *Margaret* married King *Malcolm* the 3d of *Scotland*, by whom he came to have right to the Crown of *England*; there being none extant of the old *Royal-Saxon-Line*, beſides her ſelf: And with her came very many of the Nobility, who fled from *William the Conquerour*, after he conquer'd *England*, and with whom King *Malcolm* would not make Peace, till ſuch of them as reſolved to return were reſtored to their Eſtates.

The next *Royal Race* which flouriſhed in *England*, was the *Norman*: and to that Race our Kings ſucceeded thus. The Line of *William the Conquerour* was branch'd out in the Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *York*. To the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, they ſucceed as Heirs by the Marriage betwixt *Joan*, Daughter to the Duke of *Somerſet*, and undoubted Succeſſour of the Family of *Lancaſter*. And to both *Lancaſter* and *York* they ſucceed by being Heirs to *Henry* the 7th, in whom theſe Succeſſions were again happi-

ly reconcil'd; he having married *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter to *Edward* the 4th, who had transferred the Succeſſion of the *Crown* from the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, to that of *York*, or at leaſt had united the two in one. For clearing whereof, it is fit to know, that *Henry* the 7th had onely four Children, *Arthur*, *Henry*, *Margaret* and *Mary*. *Arthur* and *Henry* dying without Succeſſion, the Right of the *Crown* was certainly devolv'd over upon the Children of *Margaret* the Daughter; who did bear King *James* the 5th, in a firſt Marriage with King *James* the 4th; and *Margaret Dowglas*, by a ſecond Marriage with the Earl of *Angus*: which *Margaret* being married to *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, had two Sons; the eldeſt whereof, was *Henry*, who thereafter married Queen *Mary*, Daughter to King *James* the 5th; and begot upon her King *James* the 6th: and thus King *James* the 6th was upon all ſides Heir to *William the Conquerour*, and to *Henry* the 7th.

The Hiſtories alſo of both Nations confeſs, that our King is the undoubted Succeſſour of the *Bloud-Royal*

Royal of *Wales*: for *Walter Stuart*, from whom our Kings are deſcended, was Grand-child to the King of *Wales*, by his Daughter, * who married *Fleanchus* Son to † *Banqhuo*: and *Henry* the 7th (to whom King *James* the 6th was the true Succeſſour) was alſo the righteous Heir of *Cadwalloder* the laſt Prince of *Wales*.

* Leſly. in vim Dav. 2.
† Baker, pag. 159. Edit. 1643.

The Hiſtories both of *Scotland* and *Ireland* do acknowledge, that our Kings are undoubtedly deſcended from the Royal-Race of the Kings of *Ireland*; and all the debate that can be, is onely whether they be deſcended from King *Ferquhard*, Father to King *Fergus* the firſt, or from *Eric*, Father to King *Fergus* the ſecond; or from ſome other *Iriſh* Kings, as *Uſher* pretends.

From all which, I may draw two Concluſions; Firſt, that God has, from an extraordinary kindneſs to thoſe Kingdoms, lodged in the perſon of our preſent Sovereign King *James* the 7th (whom *GOD Almighty* long preſerve) all thoſe oppoſite and different rights, by which our peace might have been formerly diſturb'd. 2. That His *Majeſty* who now

now Reigns, has deriv'd from His Royal Anceſtours, a juſt and legal Right by Law, to all thoſe Crowns, without needing to found upon the Right of Conqueſt: ſo that the very endeavour, to exclude him from all thoſe Legal Rights, by Arbitrary inſolence, under a Mask of Law, was the height of injuſtice, as well as imprudence.

FINIS.